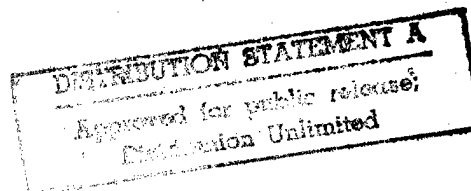


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# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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7 February 1984

USSR REPORT  
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

## CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL

Contents of NOVOYE VREMYA for 1983 (NOVOYE VREMYA, No 52, 23 Dec 83) .....	1
---	---

## NATIONAL

Shevardnadze on 200th Anniversary of Russian-Georgian Treaty (E. A. Shevardnadze; ZARYA VOSTOKA, 28 Oct 83) .....	43
Surveys of Public Taste in Popular Literature (Semen Shurtakov; YUNOST', No 10, Oct 83) .....	100
Readers React to 1982 Critique Popular Reading Standards Debated	

## REGIONAL

Shevardnadze Address to Higher Education Workers' Aktiv (V. A. Shevardnadze; ZARYA VOSTOKA, 20 Sep 83) .....	115
Lithuania's Grishkyavichus, Dybenko View Socialist Discipline (P. P. Grishkyavichus, N. K. Dybenko; SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 12 Nov 83) .....	127

## INTERNATIONAL

### CONTENTS OF NOVOYE VREMYA FOR 1983

Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 52, 23 Dec 83 pp 33-48

[Text] The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union

- Vl. Kuznetsov, "1983--What Lies Ahead?", No 1  
"The Enemy of All People" (Editorial page), No 2  
"Is the United States Ready for an Agreement?", No 2  
A. Bovin, "A Human Achievement," No 2  
"It Is up to the West" (Editorial page), No 3  
I. Trofimova, "The Alternative to Nuclear Madness," No 3  
Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Appeal of Peaceful Initiatives," No 4  
D. Il'in, "Dialogue in Bonn," No 4  
V. Petrovskiy, "Dialectics of the Nuclear Space Age," No 4  
"A Solution Must Be Found" (Editorial page), No 5  
L. Mironov, "Unanimous Opinions," No 5  
Yu. Baltis, "Missile Load or Stability," No 6  
S. Borisov, "The Dialogue Must Continue," No 9  
"Our Choice" (Editorial page), No 10  
L. Makarevich, "Everyone Can Contribute," No 10  
Yu. Bochkarev, "The Cornerstone," No 11  
I. Trofimova, "Mutual Understanding," No 11  
Vl. Kuznetsov, "Peace and Democracy," No 13  
L. Khar'kov, "The Belgrade Dialogue," No 14  
M. Chernousov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 14  
"An Appeal for Reason" (Editorial page), No 15  
S. Golyakov, "Why Is the 'Interim Option' Unacceptable?", No 15  
M. Chernousov, "The Threat to Europe Can Be Eliminated," No 15  
D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "Verified by History," No 16  
R. Krest'yaninov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 16  
"The Privilege of Responsibility" (Editorial page), No 17  
"Verifying a Move" (Editorial page), No 18  
Vl. Kuznetsov, "Peace--the Absolute Priority," No 19  
"Problems Must Not Be Allowed To Snowball" (Editorial page), No 20  
I. Trofimova, "The Philosophy of Creation and the Philosophy of the 'Mushroom Cloud,'" No 20  
A. Alekseyev, "This Chance Must Not Be Missed," No 20  
M. Chernousov, "The Road to a Nuclear-Free Europe," No 21  
L. Skuratov, "New Momentum," No 22



D. Kartashev, "Brilliant Prospects," No 23  
 "The Common Public Enemy" (Editorial page), No 24  
 D. Kartashev, "Upholding Tradition," No 24  
 "The Practice of Detente," No 24  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 24  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "The Only Reasonable Course," No 25  
 "Precise Guidelines" (Editorial page), No 26  
 M. Chernousov, "The Central Issue," No 26  
 "An Urgent Appeal" (Editorial page), No 27  
 V. Kelin, "The Starting Point--A Freeze," No 27  
 "Only Equality" (Editorial page), No 28  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Defenders of Detente and Its Enemies," No 28  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "To Preserve and Multiply," No 28  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Tried and Tested Route or the Unpredictable Path?", No 29  
 I. Fedorov, "The Tactic of Nuclear Deception," No 30  
 I. Trofimova, "Close Interaction," No 31  
 V. Vinogradov, "In Support of the Palestinians' Just Cause" (Interview), No 31  
 M. Borisov, "Equality, and Only Equality," No 32  
 Ye. Rummyantsev, "The Range of Friendship," No 32  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Truth About Medium-Range Nuclear Weapons," No 32  
 A. Aleksimov, "START: Idling," No 34  
 Yu. Petrov, "Soviet Diplomatic Herald" (Political books), No 34  
 O. Mikhaylov and D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "Washington's Space Adventures," No 35  
 "Flexibility vs. Dodging" (Editorial page), No 36  
 S. Shunin, "Space Must Be Peaceful," No 36  
 "Success Is Still Possible" (Editorial page), No 37  
 Yu. Baltis, "Europe and the World Need an Agreement," No 37  
 V. Viktorov, "An Irresponsible Game," No 37  
 V. Kravtsov, "The Dialogue in Paris," No 38  
 V. Gushchin, "The Criminal Logic of Political Recklessness," No 38  
 M. Chernousov, "The Deciding Round," No 39  
 N. Yakovlev, "'Cold War' Kamikaze," No 39  
 "What Is the West's Response" (Editorial page), No 40  
 "The Voice of Reason" (Editorial page), No 41  
 I. Trofimova, "Checking the Line," No 41  
 B. Pishchik, "A Talk with the Reader," No 41  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "Peace Alarm Over the Planet," No 42  
 G. Stakh, "Preventing a Nuclear Holocaust," No 42  
 A. Stepanov, "Invariable Support," No 42  
 V. Vasil'yev, "What Lies Behind Washington's 'Flexibility,'" No 43  
 A. Tolpegin, "The Dialogue in Hamburg," No 43  
 "Determination To Defend Peace" (Editorial page), No 44  
 "October Signal" (Editorial page), No 45  
 V. Zagladin, "Revolution, the 66th Year," No 45  
 M. Chernousov, "Strong Momentum for the Geneva Dialogue," No 45  
 V. Vasil'yev, "Who is 'For' and Who Is 'Against,'" No 46  
 L. Mironov, "Both the Spirit and the Letter," No 46  
 M. Chernousov, "The First Half-Century," No 46  
 A. Stepanov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 46  
 "Fidelity to Agreements" (Editorial page), No 47  
 D. Zgerskiy, "Syria Is Not Alone," No 47

"The Planet, Grenada and Missiles" (Editorial page), No 48  
 V. Zagladin, "New Threat to Europe: Who Is To Blame?", No 48  
 "Good Will and Ill Will" (Editorial page), No 49  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "A Brake for a Brakeless Policy," No 49  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "The Balance Should Not Be Disrupted," No 50  
 V. Vasil'yev, "Against Public Wishes," No 51  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "An Interview Lasting More Than a Year" (Political Books), No 51  
 Yu. Knyazev, "A Talk with the Reader," No 51  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "In the Spirit of Traditional Friendship," No 52  
 L. Zhegalov, "An Example Which Should Be Followed," No 52

# The Struggle for Peace and Disarmament. European Security. United Nations Activity

"Message of Peace" (Editorial page), No 1  
 A. Alekseyev, "A Break Until February," No 1  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "Remembrances of the Future," No 1  
 L. Yelin, "Peaceful Offensive," No 1  
 "The Enemy of All People" (Editorial page), No 2  
 "Is the United States Ready for an Agreement?", No 2  
 "It Is up to the West" (Editorial page), No 3  
 I. Trofimova, "The Alternative to Nuclear Madness," No 3  
 G. Sidorova, "Something Is Out of Kilter..." (Note), No 3  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Appeal of Peaceful Initiatives," No 4  
 V. Petrovskiy, "Dialectics of the Nuclear Space Age," No 4  
 "Tricks Will Not Work" (Editorial page), No 6  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "The Search for a Uniting Factor," No 6  
 Yu. Baltis, "Missile Load or Stability," No 6  
 "An Inquiry into the Creation of a Zone in Europe Free of Battlefield Nuclear Weapons," No 6  
 S. Golyakov, "Not Whipping-Boys," No 6  
 T. Bogoslovskaya, "Meeting-Dialogue," No 6  
 M. Podvigin, "No to War," No 6  
 A. Stepanov, "For a Continent of Peace!", No 7  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "Europe and the Nuclear-Free Zones," No 8  
 Ye. Kamenskiy and I. Mel'nikov, "Clarity and Realism," No 9  
 L. Mlechin, "The Palme Commission's Warnings" (Political Books), No 9  
 N. Shimmel', "A Talk with the Reader," No 9  
 Yu. Kolosov, "Through Stronger Trust," No 10  
 "Another Nuremberg Trial," No 10  
 S. Beglov, "The Keys to the Answer to the Question of Questions" (Political Books), No 10  
 G. Sidorova, "Let Us Give the Globe to the Children," No 10  
 V. Larin, "Does a Finger Need To Be on the Nuclear Button?", No 11  
 "The Referendum Continues" (Editorial page), No 12  
 "Manifest Destiny" (Editorial page), No 13  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "Peace and Democracy," No 13  
 A. Alekseyev, "The Time for Decisions," No 13  
 V. Kozlov, "It Is Time To Start Changing," No 13  
 S. Korshunov, "The United States Does Not Want Meaningful Talks," No 13

Yu. Zhilin, "Europe Must Make a Choice," No 14  
 S. Golyakov, "Two Steps from the Equator," No 14  
 M. Zubko, "A Guarantee of Security," No 14  
 M. Chernousov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 14  
 S. Golyakov, "Why the 'Interim Option' Is Unacceptable," No 15  
 O. Valentinov, "Field of Life," No 15  
 Ye. Knorre, "'To Be Together,'" No 15  
 M. Chernousov, "The Threat to Europe Can Be Eliminated," No 15  
 "Firmly and Calmly" (Editorial page), No 16  
 Yu. Zhilin, "Two-Faced Janus," No 16  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "A Discussion Worth Continuing," No 16  
 Ye. L'vov, "For Peace and Life," No 17  
 B. Slavin, "Give Peace a Chance," No 17  
 "We Must Remember" (Editorial page), No 19  
 "Winners of the International Lenin Prize 'For Stronger Friendship Among Peoples,'" No 19  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "Peace--The Absolute Priority," No 19  
 V. Zhitomirskiy, "The Demands of the Working Public," No 19  
 V. Godyna, "Conference in Ulaan-baatar," No 19  
 V. Ksenin, "The Scientist's View," No 19  
 "Problems Must Not Be Allowed To Snowball" (Editorial page), No 20  
 A. Alekseyev, "This Chance Must Not Be Missed," No 20  
 M. Chernousov, "The Road to a Nuclear-Free Europe," No 21  
 M. Nol'ch, "Prague Lies Ahead," No 21  
 L. Semeyko, "The Force of Collective Reason," No 22  
 N. Shmelev, "For the Sake of Peace," No 22  
 L. Mironov, "The Blackmail Will Not Work," No 22  
 V. Ivanov, "No One Will Be Able To Disrupt the Balance," No 23  
 A. Alekseyev, "Fraught with Error," No 24  
 K. Matskyavichyus, "The Baltic--A Sea of Peace" (Interview), No 24  
 V. Gushchin, "Communists in the Antiwar Struggle," No 24  
 "It Is Time To Defend Life" (Editorial page), No 25  
 B. Pishchik, "May Your Home Be Peaceful," No 25  
 M. Chernousov, "The Central Issue," No 26  
 "Peace Forum in the Heart of Europe," No 26  
 A. Stepanov, "For the Sake of Life on Earth," No 27  
 N. Zholkver, "Constructively and in a Businesslike Manner," No 27  
 V. Kelin, "The Starting Point--a Freeze," No 27  
 V. Boykov, "The Antinuclear Hippocratic Oath," No 27  
 "The World Assembly 'For Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War'" (Photo essay), No 27  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Defenders of Detente and Its Enemies," No 28  
 V. Kuznetsov, "Scientists' Warnings," No 28  
 "Clubs Used Against Fighters for Peace," No 28  
 Vl. Molchanov, "Who Objects to a Nuclear-Free Zone," No 29  
 B. Kozlov, "On the Roads of Two Continents," No 29  
 "What Do the Communists Suggest" (Editorial page), No 30  
 I. Fedorov, "The Tactic of Nuclear Deception," No 30  
 "Eight Years Ago" (Editorial page), No 31  
 N. Koval'skiy, "The Church and Nuclear War," No 31  
 M. Borisov, "Equality, and Equality Alone," No 32

A. Alekseyev, "In the Interest of Peace and Detente," No 32  
 Yu. Gudkov, "'World Cycle Race-83' on U.S. Roads," No 32  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Truth About Medium-Range Nuclear Weapons," No 32  
 Yu. Knyazev, "A Talk with the Reader," No 32  
 G. Stakh, "The Committee on Disarmament: No Change," No 33  
 M. Frolov, "An Important Detail in the Panorama of Struggle," No 33  
 "The Mainspring of Protest" (Editorial page), No 34  
 A. Aleksimov, "START: Idling," No 34  
 B. Kozlov, "The Finish of 'World Cycle Race-83,'" No 34  
 V. Gushchin, "The Impotence of Liars" (Note), No 34  
 "Common Interest" (Editorial page), No 35  
 B. Stolpovskiy, "Dynamism and Purposefulness," No 35  
 S. Shunin, "Let There Be Peace in Space," No 36  
 A. Stepanov, "Power Engineering Workers Against the Arms Race," No 36  
 "Success Is Still Possible" (Editorial page), No 37  
 Yu. Baltis, "Europe and the World Need an Agreement," No 37  
 I. Zakariya, "I Have an Optimistic View of the Future" (Interview), No 37  
 V. Zagladin, "The 'Persings' Through the Prism of History," No 37  
 G. Stakh, "Defending a Peaceful Future for the Planet," No 38  
 A. Alekseyev, "The Madrid Meeting--Results and Conclusions," No 38  
 "An Agreement Can Be Reached if..." (Editorial page), No 39  
 M. Chernousov, "The Deciding Round," No 39  
 N. Yevgen'yev and G. Aleksandrov, "An Eye on World Economics," No 39  
 E. Kovalev, "A Nuclear Lightning-Rod for the Balkans," No 39  
 R. Krest'yaninov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 39  
 "What Is the West's Response" (Editorial page), No 40  
 V. Gushchin, "Taking Aim at the Antiwar Movement," No 40  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "They Are Undermining the United Nations," No 40  
 M. Frolov, "The Voice of the Veterans," No 40  
 "The Voice of Reason" (Editorial page), No 41  
 L. Yelin and A. Stepanov, "Moscow Speaks Its Mind," No 41  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "Peace Alarm over the Planet," No 42  
 G. Stakh, "Preventing a Nuclear Holocaust," No 42  
 T. Dmitriyev, "The Treaty Is in Force, But...", No 42  
 "This Opportunity Must Not Be Missed" (Editorial page), No 43  
 V. Vasil'yev, "What Lies Behind Washington's 'Flexibility,'" No 43  
 G. Stakh, "Restraining the 'Crusaders' of Nuclear War," No 43  
 V. Gushchin, "People Against Missiles," No 43  
 "Determination To Defend the Peace" (Editorial page), No 44  
 "The People Say 'No!' to Washington," No 44  
 Ye. Velikhov, "Scientists Are Concerned" (Interview), No 44  
 T. Dmitriyev, "Atoms for Peace, and Not for War," No 44  
 M. Chernousov, "Strong Momentum for the Geneva Dialogue," No 45  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Ninth Wave Is Coming," No 45  
 I. Usachev, "Scientists' Appeal," No 45  
 V. Vasil'yev, "Who Is 'For' and Who Is 'Against,'" No 46  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Lesson of Grenada," No 46  
 V. Boykov, "Europe in the Antimissile Flood," No 46  
 M. Chervontseva, "Representatives of Soviet Culture: This Madness Must Be Stopped," No 46  
 A. Stepanov, "In Europe's Interest," No 47

A. Kosenko, "Two Approaches" (Political Books), No 47  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "Why Countess Doenhoff Is Right," No 47  
 S. Golyakov, "The Irregular Pulse of the United Nations," No 47  
 V. Zagladin, "New Threat to Europe: Who Is To Blame?," No 48  
 A. Stepanov, "No to Deployment, Yes to Talks!," No 48  
 A. Alekseyev, "On the Road to Stockholm," No 48  
 "Good Will and Ill Will" (Editorial page), No 49  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "A Brake for a Brakeless Policy," No 49  
 Yu. Deporov, "The Piracy in the Caribbean and Legal Standards," No 49  
 "The International Community Is Outraged," No 49  
 Ye. Parnova, "Women Against the Nuclear Threat," No 49  
 "The Priority of Human Rights" (Editorial page), No 50  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "The Balance Should Not Be Disrupted," No 50  
 Yu. Zhukov, "Two Sides of Imperialist Policy," No 50  
 V. Yemel'yanov, "Before It Is Too Late" (Political Books), No 50  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 50  
 V. Vasil'yev, "Against Public Wishes," No 51  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Pentagon Charter vs. UN Charter," No 51  
 Yu. Knyazev, "A Talk with the Reader," No 51  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "History Will Ask," No 52  
 A. Sitnikov, "An Appeal for Reason and for Action," No 52  
 M. Zeynalov, "Strength in Unity," No 52

#### General Questions of International Relations

Vl. Kuznetsov, "1983: What Lies Ahead?," No 1  
 A. Mineyev, "The Crimes of 'Enlightened' Vandals," No 4  
 E. Henry, "The Death Grip of the Mafia," No 4  
 D. Vol'skiy, "Local Conflicts and International Security," No 5  
 "Following in the Footsteps of the Conquerors" (Editorial page), No 7  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "Two Branches of Imperial Globalism," No 7  
 "People, Be Vigilant!" (Editorial page), No 8  
 Yu. Knyazev, "Poison Pill" (Notes), No 9  
 "Aggression in a 'Conventional' Outfit," No 9  
 R. Simonyan, "What Lies Behind the Atlantic Doctrine," No 9  
 A. Konovalov, "The Most Profitable Business," No 9  
 A. Fokin and P. Filippov, "Apologists of Chemical Warfare," No 11  
 V. Larin, "Does a Finger Need To Be on the Nuclear Button?," No 11  
 V. Boykov, "The Propaganda Handle of the Nuclear 'Umbrella,'" No 12  
 V. Pavlov, "Why NATO Is in a Hurry," No 14  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 17  
 L. Makarevich, "Indiscreet Intuition" (Notes), No 18  
 I. Gorev, "They Are Breaking the Law," No 20  
 L. Gonzalez-Mata, "Invisible Rulers," Nos 23, 24, 26  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Obedience in Williamsburg," No 24  
 V. Boykov, "Atlanticist Marathon," No 25  
 A. Usvatov, "Chemical Weapons Must Be Banned," No 26  
 "Only Equality" (Editorial page), No 28  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Defenders of Detente and Its Enemies," No 28  
 A. Ulanskiy, "'Blues' vs. 'Oranges'" (Notes), No 28  
 "Rightwing Constellation" (Notes), No 28

D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "The General Said Too Much" (Notes), No 30  
 D. Vol'skiy, "Along All the Azimuths," No 34  
 "Imperialist Piracy" (Editorial page), No 38  
 V. Gushchin, "The Criminal Logic of Political Recklessness," No 38  
 D. Maksimov, "The NATO Blacksmiths Make Threats" (Notes), No 38  
 I. Blishchenko, "A Talk with the Reader," No 38  
 N. Yakovlev, "'Cold War' Kamikaze," No 39  
 D. Vol'skiy, "The Mirages of the Adventurists," No 40  
 D. Vol'skiy, "No One Has the Right," No 43  
 "October Signal" (Editorial page), No 45  
 D. Maksimov, "Tactical Ruses," No 45  
 "Rage and Anxiety" (Editorial page), No 46  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Grenada Lesson," No 46  
 "On Fidelity to Agreements" (Editorial page), No 47  
 D. Vol'skiy, "Under the Black Sails of Violence," No 47  
 "The Planet, Grenada and Missiles" (Editorial page), No 48  
 L. Zhegalov, "Community Conference: Realism Dictated," No 50  
 "Not Only on the Day After" (Editorial page), No 51  
 V. Boykov, "When There Is No Justification," No 51  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "History Will Ask," No 52

#### Aspects of Domestic Affairs of the Soviet Union

V. Zhitomirskiy, "Like Poles...", No 2  
 A. Pin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 2  
 S. Golyakov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 3  
 V. Shelepin, "Near Moscow and Near Prague," No 4  
 R. Krest'yaninov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 6  
 Yu. Bystrakov, "The Food Program: The Scientists' Contribution," No 8  
 V. Zhitomirskiy, "Aeroflot Is 60 Years Old," No 8  
 G. Bazhenov, "Is There Room for Cooperation?", No 12  
 V. Chirkov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 18  
 B. Pishchik, "May Your Home Be Peaceful," No 25  
 A. Pin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 25  
 "Precise Guidelines" (Editorial page), No 26  
 V. Chirkov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 27  
 V. Prokhorov, "Our Law, the Workers' Law," No 28  
 N. Ovcharenko, "Loyalty to the Leninist Principles of Internationalism and Peace," No 30  
 Yu. Grafskiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 30  
 "Breakthrough to a New Era" (Editorial page), No 32  
 V. Gushchin, "An Inquiry into Experience," No 35  
 A. Pin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 35  
 Yu. Grafskiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 43  
 V. Zagladin, "Revolution, the 66th Year," No 45  
 V. Zhitomirskiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 45  
 L. Mironov and B. Pishchik, "Where the Nara Flows," No 48  
 "Diplomats' Tours of the USSR," Nos 17, 24, 34, 37, 43  
 "Meetings with Diplomats," Nos 15, 18, 23, 26, 30, 36, 50  
 "The Nation of Soviets in Photographs," Nos 1-41, 43-44, 47-52

## Socialist Community Development Affairs

- "It Is up to the West" (Editorial page), No 3  
I. Trofimova, "The Alternative to Nuclear Madness," No 3  
"The Strength of Soviet Positions" (Editorial page), No 4  
Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Appeal of Peaceful Initiatives," No 4  
O. Bogomolov, "The Coordination of Economic Policy," No 5  
L. Bezymenskiy, "The Search for a Uniting Factor," No 6  
"Manifest Destiny" (Editorial page), No 13  
"Firmly and Calmly" (Editorial page), No 16  
L. Mironov, "The Blackmail Will Not Work," No 22  
S. Dardykin, "Transport Barge in the Ocean," No 23  
"An Urgent Appeal" (Editorial page), No 27  
Yu. Shirayev, "How Progress Should Be Managed," No 43  
"Determination To Defend the Peace" (Editorial page), No 44  
F. Goryunov, "Integration Potential," No 44  
A. Stepanov, "In Europe's Interest," No 47  
V. Godyna, "Coordinated Action," No 50

## International Communist and Workers Movement

- "Verifying a Move" (Editorial page), No 18  
V. Zagladin, "Great and Everlasting," No 18  
V. Gushchin, "Communists in the Antiwar Struggle," No 24  
"What the Communists Propose" (Editorial page), No 30  
N. Ovcharenko, "Loyalty to the Leninist Principles of Internationalism and Peace," No 30  
"Breakthrough to a New Era" (Editorial page), No 32  
V. Danilenko, "Communists and the Bourgeois Parliament," No 52

## International Trade-Union Movement. Soviet Trade Unions

- R. Urmantsev, "'WFTU Speaking,'" No 2  
V. Rosen, "Printers Symposium," No 5  
L. Yelin, "In Battle and in Labor," No 15  
"For Peace and Work," No 18  
V. Zhitomirskiy, "The Demands of the Working Public," No 19  
K. Matskyavichyus, "The Baltic--A Sea of Peace" (Interview), No 24  
V. Prokhorov, "Our Law, the Workers' Law," No 28  
A. Stepanov, "Train of Friendship from France," No 29  
A. Stepanov, "In the Spirit of Admirable Traditions," No 31  
"The Common Interest" (Editorial page), No 35  
B. Stolpovskiy, "Dynamism and Purposefulness," No 35  
A. Stepanov, "Power Engineering Workers Against the Arms Race," No 36  
I. Zakariya, "I Have an Optimistic View of the Future" (Interview), No 37  
L. Mlechin, "The Strength of Worker Solidarity," No 37  
L. Mironov, "The Contribution of the Trade Unions," No 39  
"Trade-Union Contacts," No 50  
L. Kupriyanov, "Despite the Difference in Systems," No 52

## National Liberation Movement

- V. Dolgov, "'Managua Declaration,'" No 4  
D. Vol'skiy, "Local Conflicts and International Security," No 5  
L. Zhegalov, "On the Threshold of the Summit Meeting," No 8  
"Meeting in Nicosia," No 8  
G. Bondarevskiy, "Nonalignment in Today's World," No 9  
"Responsibility for the Future" (Editorial page), No 11  
L. Zhegalov, "The Standard Has Been Taken Up," No 12  
D. Vol'skiy, "Potential Theaters of War?," No 14  
V. Shveytser, "The Social Democrats and the Liberation Movement: Problems and Conflicts," No 20  
D. Vol'skiy, "Alarm Sounded in Nicosia," No 21  
O. Valentinov, "Contempt," No 21  
L. Zhegalov, "On Behalf of the Movement for Nonalignment," No 27  
L. Yelin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 29  
Yu. Bochkarev, "Who Is in the Prisoners' Dock," No 34  
Ye. Makeyev and G. Smirnov, "Condemnation of Imperialist Robbery," No 34  
M. Zeynalov, "Strength in Unity," No 52

## Ideological and Social Issues

- M. Frolov, "The Functions and Malfunctions of Nobel Prizes," No 2  
B. Kozlov, "About Lenin," No 4  
"Obscurantism for Export" (Editorial page), No 9  
N. Sergeyev, "Great Expectation," No 9  
Yu. Ostrovityanov, "The Metamorphoses of neo-Marxism," Nos 10, 13  
L. Splendor, "A Talk with the Reader," No 10  
F. Goryunov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 11  
A. Tolpegin, "Not Only in the Seclusion of Offices," No 12  
G. Arkuzenko, "From Marx to Our Day," No 12  
I. Frolov, "Marxism and Humanism," No 15  
E. Bagramov, "Class Approach or Eclectic Theory of Factors?," No 16  
M. Podvigin, "Both Memory and Action," No 16  
"The Privilege of Responsibility" (Editorial page), No 17  
B. Kozlov, "Trans-Europe Express," No 17  
V. Zagladin, "Great and Everlasting," No 18  
"For Peace and Work," No 18  
"Constituent Assembly of Soviet Public Anti-Zionist Committee," No 18  
A. Kozlov, "Both Unique and Universal" (Political Books), No 18  
L. Velikovich, "The Electronic Church," No 18  
A. Chepurenskiy, "The Publication of the Century," No 19  
V. Shveytser, "The Social Democrats and the Liberation Movement: Problems and Conflicts," No 20  
"Land of Children" (Editorial page), No 22  
"War and the Working Class" (Editorial page), No 23  
M. Fedorov, "Words Are Our Weapons," No 23  
F. Burlatskiy, "Karl Marx and the Present Day," No 23  
Vl. Nesterov, "Doctrine of Piracy," No 24  
M. Krupkin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 28  
B. Rubtsov, "Strategy of Theft and Bribery," No 32



N. Zholkver, "The Planet--Our Communal Home," No 34  
 F. Goryunov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 34  
 Yu. Kashlev, "Decolonization of Information," No 35  
 E. Bagramov, "Is Ethnic Antagonism Inevitable," No 36  
 V. Rubtsov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 37  
 A. Akhtamzyan, "Marx: Principles of Morality in International Relations," No 38  
 A. Andreyev, "Objections to Informational Aggression," No 39  
 M. Frolov, "Fact and Fiction," No 41  
 "Number 2000" (Editorial page), No 42  
 Yu. Shirayev, "How Progress Should Be Managed," No 43  
 M. Taratuta, "Falsehoods Making Room for Lies" (Notes), No 46  
 V. Gushchin, "Armed and Extremely Dangerous," No 48  
 V. Tsoppi, "They Served the Fuehrer and They Are Serving Reagan...", Nos 48, 49  
 V. Rubtsov, "Paradoxes of Free Information," No 49  
 V. Tsoppi, "'1984' and 1984--Full Circle," No 52

#### World Economics and Foreign Trade

F. Goryunov, "The Great Crisis of the 1980's," No 1  
 R. Andreyan, "OPEC and the Oil Market," No 1  
 L. Makarov, "Big Commission in Action," No 4  
 R. Andreyan, "Hard Times," No 6  
 V. Lavrenov, "Deadlocks of Agrarian Protectionism," No 6  
 V. Gusenkov, "Reality and Possibility," No 7  
 N. Sergeyev, "The Economic Fifth Column," No 7  
 A. Krokhotkin, "Mutual Assistance and Mutual Benefit" (Interview), No 8  
 S. Nagano, "To Moscow with Optimism" (Interview), No 9  
 N. Sergeyev, "Great Expectation," No 9  
 L. Mlechin, "Fruitful Dialogue," No 10  
 G. Bazhenov, "Is There Room for Cooperation?", No 12  
 R. Andreyan, "Oil: Production and Prices," No 12  
 I. Ivanov, "Asset of Good Neighbors," No 14  
 L. Makarevich, "Three Results," No 14  
 N. Zholkver, "A Hopeless Case" (Notes), No 15  
 G. Vekshin, "Economic Ties," No 16  
 F. Goryunov, "Business as Usual," No 17  
 "Finagroprom-83" (Photo Essay), No 17  
 G. Krasnov, "UNCTAD VI. An Important Frontier," No 20  
 "Washington's Economic 'Crusade,'" No 21  
 A. Kalugin, "COCOMomania," No 21  
 G. Nikolayev, "Fire on...Our Own," No 21  
 O. Morgachev, "Who Lost?", No 21  
 O. Morgachev, "Partners' Dialogue," No 22  
 L. Sabel'nikov, "A Game Without Rules," No 22  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Obedience in Williamsburg," No 24  
 "Automated Control Systems, Computers and Robots" (Photo Essay), No 24  
 A. Tolpegin, "Enumerated and Shelved," No 26  
 L. Khar'kov, "No Tangible Results," No 29  
 V. Lavrenov, "'Second Generation' Europe," No 29  
 F. Goryunov, "A Shirt of One's Own...", No 30

"Inpoligrafmash-83" (Photo Essay), No 31  
 "Agrocomplex--Yugoslavia-83" (Photo Window), No 32  
 V. Lavrenov, "From Bonn to Athens," No 32  
 F. Goryunov, "The Dollar Again," No 33  
 R. Andreasyan, "The 'Seven Sisters' vs. OPEC," No 34  
 Ye. Makeyev and G. Smirnov, "Condemnation of Imperialist Robbery," No 34  
 F. Goryunov, "Off or On?", No 36  
 V. Godyna, "The Dynamics of Cooperation," No 37  
 L. Yelin, "The 47 Centuries of the 'Golden Elixir,'" No 38  
 N. Yevgen'yev and G. Aleksandrov, "An Eye on World Economics," No 39  
 Yu. Knyazev, "The Interest Is Mutual," No 40  
 L. Androsova, "The Fetters of Credit Dependence," No 42  
 Yu. Shirayev, "How Progress Should Be Managed," No 43  
 F. Goryunov, "Potential for Integration," No 44  
 "On Exhibit in Moscow" (Photo Essay), No 44  
 N. Zholkver, "The Latest Session," No 49  
 "On Exhibit in Moscow" (Photo Essay), No 50  
 R. Andreasyan, "OPEC's Hard Line," No 51  
 L. Makarevich, "Each Guarding His Own Interests," No 51

#### Contemporary History

L. Bezymenskiy, "The 'Flaws' and Lessons of History," No 3  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "The Train That Never Came," No 5  
 "People, Be Vigilant!" (Editorial page), No 8  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "The Double Life of the Butcher of Lyons," Nos 8, 9  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Indulgence for Anticommunism," No 11  
 S. Kuz'min, "Revenge Is Irreversible," No 13  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "Conscience Knows No Bounds," No 14  
 G. Sidorova, "Accusations of Fascism's Victims," No 16  
 "We Must Remember" (Editorial page), No 19  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 19  
 S. Kuz'min, "They Were Buried Alive...", No 22  
 M. Raginskiy, "Remembering for the Future's Sake," No 24  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "The Will of Joseph Polovskiy," No 26  
 Yu. Perechnev, "On the Flaming Arc," No 27  
 A. Shevchenko, "Activists from the Very Beginning," No 28  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Rehearsal for Hiroshima," No 31  
 "Breakthrough to a New Era" (Editorial page), No 32  
 N. Lebedev, "That Unforgettable August," No 33  
 B. Kozlov, "Behind the Scenes of the Battle of Kursk," No 33  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "'Rat' Tracks," No 35  
 S. Morimura, "Devil's Kitchen," No 37  
 Kh. M. Ibragimbeyli, "The Failure of Hitler's Caucasian Venture," No 41  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "The Trial in Leipzig and the Trial of History," Nos 42, 43  
 A. Babin, "Destruction of the 'Eastern Rampart,'" No 45  
 "What the Journal Was Discussing 40 Years Ago," Nos 42, 45, 50

#### Science, Technology and Mankind

V. Rozen, "New Space Exploit," No 3  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Barney Clark's Ordeal," No 15

M. Kokin, "Environmental Protection Is Our Common Concern," No 20  
 B. Kozlov, "India's Star Lanes," No 21  
 A. Sagurov, "The Climate of the Planet," No 21  
 G. Ryabov, "'Salyut-7' Is Inhabited Once Again," No 27  
 "Rheumatology-83" (Photo Essay), No 28  
 V. Dem'yanov, "Water and People," No 33  
 "Science-83" (Photo Essay), No 39  
 A. Pin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 42  
 G. Ryabov, "Mysteries of the Morning Star," No 45  
 G. Ryabov, "Welcome Back, Space Heroes!," No 49  
 T. Gaykova and Ye. Knorre, "Magicians from Kurgan," No 49  
 V. Rotenberg, "Paradoxes of Creation," No 51  
 V. Gubarev, "Terrestrial Affairs of Astronautics," No 52

#### Culture and Politics

A. Medvedenko, "With Faith in the Revolution Alone....," No 1  
 Ye. Bovkun, "Dietrich Kittner's Pocket Theater," No 2  
 Ye. Korshunov, "The Pride and Passion of Mahmoud Dervish," No 5  
 L. Zhegalov, "The Sympathetic Screen," No 6  
 L. Zhegalov, "On Film and Behind the Film," No 10  
 I. Mlechina, "Weapon of Conscience," No 11  
 B. Kozlov, "Comrade Book," No 15  
 A. Pin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 15  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Ten Feet of Documentary Film," No 19  
 A. Pin, "The Fate of the Acropolis," No 20  
 M. Il'inskiy, "Lotus from Nghia Do," No 22  
 Georges Simenon, "'I Have Not Lost Hope,'" No 23  
 Yu. Nagibin, "The King of Operetta Makes a Choice," No 29  
 O. Kuchkina, "Screen of Truth and Struggle," No 31  
 M. Il'inskiy, "New Life for Old Art," No 34  
 A. Yevfarestov, "Murky Wave of Brutality," No 36  
 L. Khar'kov, "Opening Nights in Belgrade," No 37  
 "Moscow International..." (Photo Essay), No 38  
 B. Pastukhov, "Books in the Service of Peace and Progress" (Interview), No 39  
 V. Korochantsev, "Mental Decolonization," No 39  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "On the Theatrical and Political Stage," No 40  
 V. Rubtsov, "Half an Hour with Dyson Carter," No 41  
 "Satire in the Struggle for Peace" (Photo Essay), No 47

#### Sports

L. Khar'kov, "The Snowflake and the Wolf-Cub Buchko," No 11  
 A. Yevfarestov, "'Superleg,' 'Monster' and Pinochet," No 16  
 I. Marinov, "In the Big Loop," No 27

#### Countries and Continents

##### Australia

L. Mikhaylov, "Respectable 'Roof'" (Notes), No 1  
 L. Yelin, "Obedient Service" (Notes), No 5

L. Mikhaylov, "Dirty Money for Dirty Work" (Notes), No 6  
S. Almazov, "Is Setting One's Own House on Fire Worth It?", No 9  
L. Mikhaylov, "Labor Victory," No 11  
V. Ksenin, "'Mamu' Carrying Destruction" (Notes), No 18  
N. Aleksandrov, "Spy Trio" (Notes), No 22  
V. Godyna, "Dangerous Lodgers" (Notes), No 25  
M. Chervontseva, "The Laws of Hospitality" (Notes), No 29

#### Austria

S. Nadezhdin, "Pressure Repulsed," No 7  
N. Zholkver, "Is Kreisky Leaving?", No 18  
R. Krest'yaninov, "Emphasis on Continuity," No 24  
M. Fedorov, "Vienna Supports Detente," No 48

#### Asia (General Issues)

M. Il'inskiy, "The First Summit Meeting," No 10  
V. Godyna, "The Key to Stabilization," No 17  
I. Bulay, "The 'Eastern Link' of Washington's Strategy," No 19  
V. Godyna, "Conference in Ulaan-baatar," No 19  
Yu. Lugovskiy, "'New Dimensions' of Japanese Policy," No 21  
L. Yelin, "Not for the Sake of Training" (Notes), No 21  
L. Zhegalov, "Association of Seven?", No 26  
I. Bulay, "Fraught with New Complications...", No 27  
L. Mironov, "Open Door for Negotiation," No 31  
L. Zhegalov, "The 'Seven' Find a Common Language," No 34  
S. Dmitriyev, "Dreams and Reality," No 35  
I. Bulay, "Under Militarist Sails," No 42  
Yu. Kuz'michev, "Relying on the Gullible," No 50

#### Albania

A. Petrov, "Albanian Holiday," No 48

#### Algeria

A. Kapikrayan and V. Lagutin, "On the Same Side of the Barricades," No 46

#### Angola

A. Dolgov, "By Hook or by Crook," No 17  
L. Skuratov, "New Momentum," No 22  
L. Skuratov, "Signs of Connivance," No 35  
A. Dolgov, "Insidious Intrigues," No 37

#### Argentina

O. Valentinov, "Slandorous Commotion," No 6  
A. Medvedenko, "He Fought in the Malvinas," No 20  
A. Medvedenko, "The Eve of Reform," No 41

- A. Vladimirov, "Elections in Argentina," No 46
- A. Medvedenko, "Entering a New Stage," No 51

#### Afghanistan

- A. Usvatov, "Serious Negotiation," No 2
- L. Mironov, "Fighting and Building," No 6
- A. Usvatov, "Putting Spokes in the Wheels," No 7
- "Afghanistan in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 7
- A. M. Sarboland, "Afghanistan Is Loyal to the Principles of Nonalignment" (Interview), No 10
- A. Usvatov, "Things Are Not Going Well!", No 11
- A. Stepanov, "Covert Mainsprings of Overt Aggression," No 13
- A. Yelin, "In Battles and in Labor," No 15
- G. Vekshin, "Economic Ties," No 16
- A. Stepanov, "Spring in Herat," No 17
- A. Usvatov, "Banners over an Ancient Country," No 19
- A. Yelin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 20
- S. A. Keshtmand, "Revolution: In Labor and Struggle" (Interview), No 23
- A. Stepanov, "On the Logar and Paktin," No 26
- "Afghanistan in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 34
- L. Mironov, "Autumn in the Nanghar-khar Valley," No 41
- L. Mironov, "In North Afghanistan," No 49
- L. Mironov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 52

#### Africa (General Issues)

- Yu. Bochkarev, "A Talk with the Reader," No 1
- V. Golubev, "Tel-Aviv Seeks a Bridgehead," No 6
- "Will the OAU Survive?", No 7
- P. Nze, "Our Voices Will Not Fail," No 7
- Yu. Bochkarev, "Grave-Diggers in the Guise of Reformists," No 7
- V. Midtsev, "Washington's Goal Is a Deadlock," No 8
- "Deadlocks of Capitalism," No 14
- "African Motto" (Editorial page), No 21
- Yu. Bochkarev, "The Depths of Self-Awareness" (Political Books), No 21
- V. Midtsev, "Taking the Previous Line," No 22
- I. Stepanova, "Solidarity," No 23
- V. Midtsev, "The Invincible Force of Unity," No 25
- "On What Basis?" (Editorial page), No 33
- D. Vol'skiy, "Along All the Azimuths," No 34
- V. Korochantsev, "Mental Decolonization," No 39

#### Bangladesh

- Yu. Romakhov, "Tropical Monsoons and Political Storms," No 51

#### Belgium

- V. Boykov, "'No' to the Employment Wilderness," No 18
- V. Boykov, "'No' to the Nuclear Tenants," No 20

V. Boykov, "For a Europe Without Trenches," No 44  
V. Boykov, "Plot," No 50

#### Ivory Coast

L. Tseytlin, "The Miracle That Never Happened," No 14

#### Burma

A. Laurinchyukas, "Heavy Burden of Giants," No 46

#### Near and Middle East

O. Fomin, "The Zionists' Creeping Annexation," No 1  
A. Ulanskiy, "Affront" (Notes), No 3  
A. Usvatov, "The Perfidy of the Aggressors," No 3  
A. Stepanov, "Invariable Support," No 4  
D. Zgerskiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 4  
A. Zlatorunskiy, "Experience Demands This," No 5  
Ye. Korshunov, "The Pride and Passion of Mahmoud Dervish," No 5  
D. Vol'skiy, "Taking Aim at Damascus?," No 7  
D. Vol'skiy, "Near East Detonator," No 8  
M. Zeynalov, "The Palestinians Make Plans," No 10  
D. Zgerskiy, "Exposures in Geneva," No 11  
D. Zgerskiy, "Anatomy of Betrayal" (Political Books), No 13  
"An Appeal for Reason" (Editorial page), No 15  
V. Kopin, "They Are Taking the Land...," No 16  
L. Medvedko, "Forces for War," No 17  
D. Zgerskiy, "No Statute of Limitations," No 17  
D. Vol'skiy, "Screen for Blackmail," No 17  
D. Vol'skiy, "Threat to Damascus," No 18  
D. Vol'skiy, "Dangerous 'Shuttle,'" No 19  
D. Antonov, "Talking About Peace But Preparing for War," No 20  
D. Vol'skiy, "Alarm Sounded in Nicosia," No 21  
D. Zgerskiy, "Peace or a Trap?," No 21  
"In Defense of Peace in the Middle East," No 21  
D. Zverev, "Incentive for the Aggressor," No 22  
D. Zgerskiy, "Support for the Aggressor," No 23  
D. Vol'skiy, "Double Bottom," No 24  
D. Vol'skiy, "What Lies Behind the Reversal?," No 27  
A. Stepanov, "Preserving the Unity of Palestinian Ranks," No 28  
"The Root of All Evil" (Editorial page), No 29  
L. Medvedko, "The Preparations for the 'Six-Day War,'" Nos 29, 30  
V. Vinogradov, "In Support of the Palestinians' Just Cause" (Interview), No 31  
Yu. Bochkarev, "Surprise on Order," No 31  
D. Zgerskiy, "Insurance for the Aggressor," No 32  
V. Kudryavtsev, "In Defense of the Palestinian Cause" (Interview), No 36  
V. Vinogradov, "Give the Palestinians Their Homeland," No 38  
L. Kupriyanov, "Echoes of the Bloody Massacre," No 39  
D. Vol'skiy, "The Mirages of the Adventurists," No 40  
T. Zayad, "We Must Fight for Justice" (Interview), No 40

L. Medvedko, "A Quarter of a Century Ago...", No 41  
 D. Vol'skiy, "The Beirut Detonator," No 44  
 A. Usvatov, "Taking Aim at the Near East," No 45  
 A. Stepanov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 46  
 D. Zgerskiy, "Taking Aim at Syria," No 48  
 D. Vol'skiy, "Palestinian Internal Strife," No 49  
 D. Vol'skiy, "A Fortress in the Sand...Or Made of Sand?", No 50  
 A. Usvatov, "Aggressive Duo," No 51  
 "Pointblank 'Peace-Making'" (Editorial page), No 52

#### Bulgaria

A. Pin, "White Rose Petals," No 11  
 G. Sidorova, "Leaving Time Behind," No 36  
 N. Paniyev, "Adopted Brothers," No 45

#### Bolivia

L. Bezymenskiy, "The Double Life of the Butcher of Lyons," Nos 8, 9  
 V. Listov, "At the Crossroads," No 12

#### Brazil

V. Sobolev, "The Fate of the Amazon," No 11  
 S. Mikoyan, "The Giant's Concerns and Worries," No 50

#### Burundi

A. Anin, "On a Thousand and One Hills," No 52

#### Vatican

S. Seliverstov, "How It Is Done" (Notes), No 2

#### Great Britain

I. Titov, "'One-Way Cruise,'" No 1  
 G. Sidorova, "Plus A Billion for the New Falklands" (Notes), No 2  
 A. Ulanskiy, "Affront" (Notes), No 3  
 G. Borisova, "The Fish Wars" (Notes), No 3  
 V. Ksenin, "In Black and White" (Notes), No 3  
 G. Sidorova, "Preparing the 'Harriers' for War" (Notes), No 4  
 V. Larin, "Why Not Consider It?", No 5  
 Yu. Yershov, "Life on the Junk-Heap" (Notes), No 5  
 O. Valentinov, "Scandalous Commotion," No 6  
 Yu. Knyazev, "With a Double Blow" (Notes), No 7  
 V. Ksenin, "Who Is Emptying the Treasury" (Notes), No 11  
 G. Sidorova, "They Are Killing Children," No 12  
 L. Yelin, "Heseltine Says 'Yes'" (Notes), No 13  
 I. Monichev, "'Reds Under the Bed?'" (Notes), No 15  
 I. Titov, "Show Behind Barbed Wire" (Notes), No 18

M. Martynenko, "James Connolly and the Ulster Problem" (Political Books), No 16  
 V. Ksenin, "'Commies' from Space" (Notes), No 17  
 I. Titov, "Inconsolability and Indignation," No 18  
 I. Titov, "In Imperial Sights," No 20  
 I. Totov, "Why the Conservatives Are in a Hurry," No 21  
 I. Titov, "Which Way Will the Pendulum Swing?," No 22  
 S. Golyakov, "For Another Five Years," No 25  
 S. Golyakov, "...And the Light-Blue Walls" (Notes), No 26  
 O. Valentinov, "Another 'Unsinkable Carrier'" (Notes), No 26  
 S. Golyakov, "With Dogs and Handcuffs," No 28  
 Yu. Knyazev, "Everything Is Relevant" (Notes), No 29  
 S. Golyakov, "Plastic Death," No 31  
 S. Golyakov, "Ignoring Campaign Promises," No 32  
 Yu. Knyazev, "How To Become a Lord" (Notes), No 35  
 S. Golyakov, "The Tragedy of 'Superfluous' People," No 35  
 I. Monichev, "Submarine Pirates" (Notes), No 37  
 I. Titov, "Taking a Progressive Stand," No 42  
 Yu. Knyazev, "With an American Accent" (Notes), No 42  
 A. Pin, "A Troublesome Autumn," No 43  
 N. Zholkver, "Botha One, Botha Two, Thatcher Three" (Notes), No 43  
 V. Volodin and V. Ksenin, "Where Are Scandals More Shocking: On the Potomac or on the Thames?" (Notes), No 43  
 A. Pin, "'Together We Will Stop the Bomb,'" No 44  
 A. Pin, "They Want a Favor...", No 45  
 V. Ksenin, "The Bill for 'Casuro'" (Notes), No 46  
 "Scotland in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 46  
 A. Pin, "The Legacy of Christopher Wren," No 47  
 A. Pin, "The Cruise 'Gifts,'" No 48  
 Yu. Knyazev, "Mission Center" (Notes), No 48  
 V. Ksenin, "New 'Casuro' Adventure" (Notes), No 48  
 A. Pin, "Paying for Ambition" (Notes), No 49  
 L. Chausov, "A Dangerous Game of 'Soldiers'" (Notes), No 49  
 A. Pin, "Give Peace a Chance," No 51  
 G. Myasnikov, "Dig Deeper" (Notes), No 51  
 I. Titov, "Britain: The Facade and What Lies Behind It" (Political Books), No 51

#### Hungary

A. Krokhotkin, "Mutual Assistance and Mutual Benefit" (Interview), No 8  
 V. Gerasimov, "The 'Rendsers' in Action," No 14  
 I. Trofimova, "Close Interaction," No 31  
 A. Kuz'min, "Nature Has Its Own Language," No 32

#### Upper Volta

A. Tseytlin, "The Fifth Reversal," No 34

#### Vietnam

V. Godyna, "Moving Upward," No 1  
 B. Pishchik, "Man and the River," No 3



B. Pishchik, "Rice on the Roads," No 7  
 M. Il'inskiy, "The First Summit Meeting," No 10  
 A. Fokin and P. Filippov, "The Apologists of Chemical Warfare," No 11  
 B. Pishchik, "Complex Experiment in Creation," No 15  
 V. Godyna, "The Key to Stabilization," No 17  
 V. Khrekov, "Laboring City," No 18  
 M. Il'inskiy, "Lotus from Nghia Do," No 22  
 V. Godyna, "Still in Formation" (Political Books), No 24  
 A. Usvatov, "Chemical Weapons Must Be Banned," No 26  
 L. Mironov, "Open Door for Dialogue," No 31  
 M. Tkachev, "There Were the Benhai Rivers" (Political Books), No 31  
 M. Il'inskiy, "New Life for Ancient Art," No 34  
 B. Pishchik, "The State, the People and the Hand of a Friend," No 35  
 Yu. Kuz'michev, "Deep Roots," No 39  
 A. Mineyev, "They Know About Dubno in Vietnam," No 44  
 L. Mironov, "Both the Spirit and the Letter," No 46

#### Haiti

V. Listov, "Slavery in the 20th Century," No 18  
 I. Monichev, "'Baby Doc' Does Business" (Notes), No 27

#### Ghana

Yu. Bochkarev, "Network of Intrigue," No 10

#### Guatemala

Yu. Gudkov, "Banana Putsch," Nos 1, 2  
 A. Vladimirov, "Certification Did Not Help" (Notes), No 7  
 A. Baryshev, "Through 'Conex' and Others" (Notes), No 10  
 L. Yelin, "On Sunday Evenings" (Notes), No 24  
 A. Baryshev, "Are They Letting Off Steam?", No 28  
 L. Yelin, "General Against General" (Notes), No 34  
 V. Dolgov, "After the Coup," No 35  
 V. Chirkov, "A Clean Sweep" (Notes), No 52

#### German Democratic Republic

L. Mironov, "Unanimous Opinions," No 5  
 Yu. Baltis, "Missile Load or Stability," No 6  
 I. Mlechin, "Weapon of Conscience," No 11  
 M. Podvigin, "Both Memory and Action," No 16  
 F. Goryunov, "Business as Usual," No 17  
 "Karl Marx Stadt in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 18  
 M. Podvigin, "A 'Bridge' Across the Baltic," No 19  
 I. Trofimova, "The Philosophy of Creation and the Philosophy of the 'Mushroom Cloud,'" No 20  
 E. O. Shvabe, "Reliable Guidelines," No 40  
 L. Yeliseyev, "Schwerin's Rebirth," No 51

## Honduras

- V. Dolgov, "Double-Target Maneuvers," No 6
- A. Baryshev, "Powder-Magazine Torch-Bearers," No 17
- V. Deruga, "After the Threats" (Notes), No 28
- V. Chirkov, "What Sovereignty Costs" (Notes), No 41
- A. Baryshev, "Is Honduras for Sale?" (Notes), No 48
- A. Vladimirov, "Pegasus in Command" (Notes), No 50

## Grenada

- V. Ulasevich, "The Grenada Experience" (Political Books), No 7
- A. Vladimirov, "Aggression Against Grenada," No 44
- D. Vol'skiy, "The Aggressor's Mistake," No 45
- A. Baryshev, "By Whom and How Was the Bandit Raid Organized," No 45
- "Rage and Anxiety" (Editorial page), No 46
- VI. Kuznetsov, "The Lesson of Grenada," No 46
- A. Baryshev, "The Crucified Country," No 46
- P. Bogomolov, "Cuba Is Indignant," No 46
- P. Bogomolov, "People on Guard," No 47
- A. Baryshev, "This Sudden Fury," No 51
- L. Makarevich, "And Shrugging His Shoulders, He Fired the Gun," No 52

## Greenland

- N. Gorbunov, "Fish, Bases and Elections," No 18
- V. Voronkov, "Uninvited Guests" (Notes), No 36

## Greece

- "Athens in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 5
- L. Makarevich, "Whose Flag Will Fly Over the Bases?", No 6
- A. Pin, "It Is Time for a Change," No 8
- L. Makarevich, "Everyone Can Contribute," No 10
- A. Pin, "The Fate of the Acropolis," No 20

## Denmark

- G. Borisova, "Fish Wars" (Notes), No 3
- D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "Piano and Politics" (Notes), No 13
- S. Rogul'skiy, "Parliament Against the Missiles," No 24
- "Denmark in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 41
- A. Polyukhov, "Election Brinkmanship," No 51

## Dominican Republic

- N. Isa Conde, "A Third Border? No, a Frontline" (Interview), No 13

## Europe (General Issues)

- A. Zlatorunskiy, "Experience Demands This," No 5
- K. Matskyavichyus, "The Baltic--A Sea of Peace" (Interview), No 24

V. Pavlov, "Galloping Through Europe," No 28  
Vl. Molchanov, "Who Objects to a Nuclear-Free Zone," No 29  
V. Lavrenov, "'Second-Generation' Europe," No 29  
E. Kovalev, "Nuclear Lightning-Rod for the Balkans," No 39  
V. Boykov, "Europe in the Antimissile Flood," No 46  
A. Stepanov, "In Europe's Interest," No 47  
Yu. Knyazev, "Where Are You Going, Stork?" (Notes), No 47

#### Egypt

D. Zgerskiy, "Infatih Millionaires," No 19  
D. Zgerskiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 22  
A. Stepanov, "Alterations Without Changes," No 51

#### Zaire

V. Golubev, "Tel-Aviv Seeks a Bridgehead," No 6

#### Republic of Cape Verde

I. Gorev, "Aristides Pereira (On His 60th Birthday)," No 47

#### Zimbabwe

R. Mugabe, "A Guarantee of Success--United Effort" (Interview), No 3

#### Israel

V. Alerov, "Hitler's Germany and Begin's Israel," No 2  
V. Golubev, "Tel-Aviv Seeks a Bridgehead," No 6  
D. Vol'skiy, "Has Arens Replaced Sharon?", No 11  
D. Vol'skiy, "Second Cordon?", No 12  
Ye. L'vov, "Friends Will Help" (Notes), No 15  
D. Zgerskiy, "Support for the Aggressor," No 23  
D. Vol'skiy, "What Lies Behind the Reversal?", No 27  
Yu. Bochkarev, "Surprise on Order," No 31  
D. Zgerskiy, "Insurance for the Aggressor," No 32  
V. Midtsev, "Exposed Alliance," No 33  
G. Dymov, "Evil Ambitions," No 35  
A. Usvatov, "Leaving Behind Mountains of Broken Dishes...", No 37  
A. Usvatov, "Aggressive Policy Reflected in Economics," No 43  
A. Vasil'yev, "Yezertinskiy's Career" (Notes), No 45  
N. Zholkver, "You Scratch My Back and I'll Scratch Yours" (Notes), No 50

#### India

V. Godyna, "Moving Upward," No 1  
L. Zhegalov, "Vector of Movement," No 4  
A. Usvatov, "Chauvinist Excesses in Assam," No 10  
L. Zhekalov, "On Film and Behind the Film," No 10  
Ye. L'vov, "Dividing Without Conquering" (Notes), No 21

B. Kozlov, "India's Star Lanes," No 21  
 L. Zhegalov, "On Behalf of the Movement for Nonalignment," No 27  
 L. Zhegalov, "Agreement on Disagreement," No 29  
 R. Ghandi, "Together We Can Revive the Atmosphere of Detente" (Interview), No 30  
 Ye. Rummyantsev, "The Range of Friendship," No 32  
 L. Yelin, "Another United States?" (Notes), No 33  
 L. Zhegalov, "Is It Far to Goa?", No 33  
 L. Zhegalov, "Blackshirts from the Ganges," No 38  
 L. Zhegalov, "Andaman and Nicobar," No 41  
 L. Yelin, "Their 'Roofs'" (Notes), No 50  
 L. Yelin, "Escaping a Hole-Ridden 'Roof'" (Notes), No 51  
 L. Zhegalov, "An Example Which Should Be Followed," No 52

#### Iraq

P. Mezentssev, "Who Needs War," No 9  
 V. Vladimirov, "Protracted War," No 33

#### Iran

D. Vol'skiy, "The Revolution at a Crossroads," No 2  
 P. Mezentssev, "Who Needs War," No 9  
 V. Komarov, "Reprisals Against Patriots," No 21  
 V. Vladimirov, "Protracted War," No 33

#### Iceland

Ye. Barbukho, "What Is in Reykjavik and What Is in Keflavik," No 7  
 P. Vasil'yev, "Forty Years of Experience," No 41

#### Spain

A. Medvedenko, "With Faith in the Revolution Alone....," No 1  
 V. Shelepin, "Madrid Topics," No 3  
 A. Krasikov, "First Results, First Difficulties," No 16  
 I. Viktorov, "Who Is Exerting Pressure," No 18  
 N. Yershova, "Persona non Grata" (Notes), No 22  
 N. Zholkver, "Much Can Be Accomplished Through Joint Action," No 24  
 N. Yershova, "Far from Covert Forces" (Notes), No 31  
 "Madrid in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 32  
 A. Krasikov, "In Search of Its Own Policy," Nos 40, 41  
 N. Yershova, "They Have Been Consoled" (Notes), No 49

#### Italy

L. Makarevich, "No Peace Under the Olive Trees," No 4  
 L. Nikolayev, "The Duck, the Jig and the Minister" (Notes), No 4  
 L. Makarevich, "Which Way Should the Boot Go" (Notes), No 7  
 L. Makarevich, "Do-Re-Mi and 'Si'" (Notes), No 8  
 L. Samokhvalov, "The Verdict Is in, But....," No 8

L. Makarevich, "A Talk with the Reader," No 13  
 L. Yelin, "Somewhere in Europe" (Notes), No 18  
 L. Makarevich, "Awaited Changes," No 23  
 L. Makarov, "A Resounding Whistle or a Bullet in the Ribs" (Notes), No 23  
 L. Samokhvalov, "Missiles, the Mafia and Politics," No 25  
 L. Makarevich, "The Landscape After the Battle," No 28  
 L. Makarov, "Breaking Skulls and Breaking Laws," No 28  
 L. Makarevich, "The Swastika on Political Speakers Platforms" (Notes), No 30  
 L. Samokhvalov, "In a Cage Without a Key," No 34  
 L. Makarevich, "Did He Run or Was He Kidnapped?", No 35  
 "Rome in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 36  
 L. Makarevich, "A Program Exists. Now What?", No 37  
 L. Makarevich, "Boomerang," No 42  
 L. Makarevich, "Doing One's Duty" (Notes), No 43  
 Yevg. Babenko, "The Voice of Millions," No 44  
 L. Yelin, "Missiles in the Yard" (Notes), No 47  
 "Pompei in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 51  
 M. Taratuta, "Will He Tell or Not..." (Notes), No 52

#### People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

'Ali Nasir Muhammad, "The Prestige of the Republic" (Interview), No 20  
 P. Perminov and M. Tamarin, "Echo of Radfan," No 42

#### Yemen Arab Republic

A. Stepanov, "A Meeting with Old Friends," No 32

#### Kampuchea

"Kampuchea in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 1  
 V. Skvortsov, "Secure Feelings About the Future," No 2  
 Yu. Kuz'michev, "A Rebuff to the Enemies of People's Kampuchea," No 6  
 M. Il'inskiy, "The First Summit Meeting," No 10  
 Yu. Kuz'michev, "Who Is Escalating Tension," No 16  
 V. Godyna, "The Key to Stabilization," No 17  
 V. Grishin, "Shadows in the Theater of the Absurd" (Notes), No 20  
 L. Mironov, "Shadow on the Fence," No 24  
 "Impatiently Awaiting Startling Events" (Notes), No 25  
 L. Mironov, "Open Door for Dialogue," No 31  
 Khor Namkhong, "The Future Will Depend on Dialogue" (Interview), No 34  
 Yu. Kuz'michev, "Deep Roots," No 39  
 L. Mironov, "Resolute Support," No 40  
 V. Godyna, "A Talk with the Reader," No 44  
 Wu Kan, "On the Shores of Tonle Sap," No 48  
 Yu. Kuz'michev, "Relying on the Gullible," No 50

#### Canada

A. Pin, "At the Foot of Royal Mountain," No 4  
 V. Ulasevich, "Dangerous Agreement," No 13

A. Pin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 21  
A. Pin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 31  
V. Rubtsov, "Half an Hour with Dyson Carter," No 41

#### Kenya

N. Malysheva, "Behind the Facade of the 'Tourist Haven,'" No 14

#### Cyprus

L. Makarevich, "Mediterranean Poker," No 48

#### China

V. Zubakov, "A New Constitution and a New Five-Year Plan," No 1  
Correspondent, "Why Is This Necessary?", No 3  
"China's Demarche," No 8  
V. Godyna, "Echoes of the Nanking Massacre," No 18  
V. Grishin, "The 'Pan-American' Projects," No 19  
Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Flight 801" (Notes), No 25  
"Echoing Washington," No 30

#### Democratic People's Republic of Korea

L. Mironov, "A Tree with Strong Roots," No 27  
L. Mironov, "From the Top of Mount Peony," No 30  
N. Lebedev, "An Unforgettable August," No 33  
V. Godyna, "Dynamics of Cooperation," No 37

#### South Korea

L. Yelin, "The Two and a Third" (Notes), No 11  
S. Zinchuk, "Emphasis on Terror and Militarization," No 12  
I. Bulay, "The 'Eastern Link' of Washington's Strategy," No 19  
L. Mikhaylov, "'Holiday' in Seoul" (Notes), No 29  
L. Mlechin, "Roses Without Thorns" (Notes), No 39  
V. Godyna, "Heavenly Blessing?" (Notes), No 45  
V. Bunin, "The Sinister Triangle," No 48

#### Costa Rica

A. Baryshev, "The Pentagon's 'Sea Bees'" (Notes), No 11

#### Cuba

Yevg. Bay, "Cuba's Prestige," No 1  
V. Chirkov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 8  
P. Bogomolov, "A Justifiable Choice," No 30  
Fidel Castro, "Goodwill Is Essential" (Interview), No 34  
P. Bogomolov, "Cuba Is Indignant," No 46  
P. Bogomolov, "People on Guard," No 47

## Laos

- M. Il'inskiy, "The First Summit Meeting," No 10  
V. Grishin, "What Are the 'Soldiers of Fortune' Seeking?" (Notes), No 22  
A. Mirov, "Tha Duia's Calling Card," No 26  
L. Mironov, "Open Door for Dialogue," No 31  
Yu. Kuz'michev, "Deep Roots," No 39  
Yu. Mikheyev, "Process of Renewal," No 49

## Latin America (General Issues)

- V. Dolgov, "The 'Managua Declaration,'" No 4  
A. Baryshev, "Inflexible Reliance on Force," No 8  
A. Baryshev, "Following the Old Scenario," No 9  
Yu. Gudkov, "Help in Killing," No 13  
D. Vol'skiy, "The Facade of Imperial Policy," No 16  
Yu. Gvozdev, "Overture for Intervention?", No 18  
V. Dolgov, "Meeting in Managua," No 18  
A. Baryshev, "On White House Orders," No 19  
A. Baryshev, "The Monroe Doctrine in a New Guise," No 22  
Yu. Gudkov, "Formula for Failure," No 23  
A. Baryshev, "A Talk with the Reader," No 26  
R. Tuchnin, "Washington's Slip Toward Intervention," No 28  
A. Glinkin, "Simon Bolivar, the Liberator," No 30  
Yu. Gvozdev, "Dangerous Maneuvers," No 31  
D. Vol'skiy, "'Shield for Democracy' or Crusader's Sword?", No 32  
Yu. Gudkov, "Moving Closer to the Stove," No 33  
V. Dolgov, "Military Encirclement," No 33  
"Smotherers of Liberty," No 36  
A. Baryshev, "'Vietnamization' or Direct Intervention?", No 36  
Yu. Gvozdev, "A Common Stand Is Taking Shape," No 36  
A. Baryshev, "Maneuvers and Maneuvering," No 37  
A. Baryshev, "Proof of Hypocrisy," No 38  
A. Baryshev, "The Barrier" (Notes), No 39  
V. Sobolev, "Problems in Heaven on Earth," No 39  
A. Baryshev, "Preparations for an Invasion?", No 44  
Yu. Deporov, "Piracy in the Caribbean and the Law," No 49

## Lesotho

- Yu. Bochkarev, "Pretoria's Ambitions," No 15  
A. Usvatov, "Racist Revenge" (Notes), No 28

## Lebanon

- A. Usvatov, "The Perfidy of the Aggressor," No 3  
V. Jumlat, "The Aggressor Must Leave" (Interview), No 17  
D. Zgerskiy, "No Statute of Limitations," No 17  
D. Antonov, "They Talk of Peace and Make Plans for War," No 20  
D. Zgerskiy, "Peace or a Trap?", No 21  
D. Zverev, "Incentives for the Aggressor," No 22

D. Vol'skiy, "Double Bottom," No 24  
Yu. Bochkarev, "Surprise on Order," No 31  
D. Zgerskiy, "Insurance for the Aggressor," No 32  
V. Nikolayev, "'Quiet Americans' on Arab Land," No 37  
A. Usvatov, "Washington Pulls the Trigger," No 39  
D. Vol'skiy, "The Mirages of the Adventurists," No 40  
L. Medvedko, "A Quarter of a Century Later....," No 41  
D. Vol'skiy, "The Beirut Detonator," No 44

#### Libya

A. Zlatorunskiy, "Provocation with a Target," No 9  
A. Zlatorunskiy, "A Business Trip," No 13

#### Malaysia

"Malaysia in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 12

#### Malta

V. Mkrtchan, "The Virgin Soil of the 'Isle of Honey,'" No 20

#### Morocco

V. Shelepin, "The Awakened Depths of the Atlas Range," No 11

#### Mozambique

A. Burlak, "The Naimite Brand," No 2  
B. Pilyatskin, "Under the Mask," No 10  
Yu. Bochkarev, "The Cornerstone," No 11  
L. Skuratov, "New Racist Crime," No 23  
"Mozambique in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 25  
L. Skuratov, "The Impotence of the 'Iron Fist,'" No 44

#### Mongolia

A. Krivel', "A Life Devoted to the People," No 5  
V. Godyna, "A Talk with the Reader," No 7  
"Mongolia in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 29  
"Mongolia in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 48  
M. Pelzhe, "Integration Works on Socialism," No 52

#### Namibia

B. Asoyan, "Faulty Camouflage," No 5  
A. Burlak, "No More Delays," No 18  
S. Borisov, "The People Must Be Free!", No 19  
Yu. Gudkov, "No Idling!", No 25  
L. Skuratov, "Not One Move," No 36  
A. Dolgov, "Insidious Intrigues," No 37



L. Goncharov, "The Mainsprings of Aggression," No 41  
V. Midtsev, "Better Late Than Never," No 52

#### Nigeria

V. Shchukin, "Nigerian Metal," No 31  
Yu. Doletov, "Five Rounds of Elections," No 36

#### Netherlands

N. Zholkver, "In Formation and in a Duet" (Notes), No 5  
V. Boykov, "The Antimissile Battle," No 17  
N. Zholkver, "Mines with a Secret," No 28  
"Holland in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 43

#### Nicaragua

J. Wheelock Roman, "People on the Alert!" (Interview), No 2  
"The Nicaraguan People Cannot Be Intimidated!", No 10  
V. Dolgov, "Tension Is Growing," No 14  
A. Baryshev, "It Was Easy on Paper...", No 15  
V. Dolgov, "Where the Intervention Was Repulsed," No 16  
V. Pokhvalin, "The Free People's General" (Political Books), No 17  
A. Baryshev, "Following an Old Scenario," No 20  
V. Dolgov, "These Are 'Freedom Fighters'?", No 21  
V. Dolgov, "A Useful Lesson," No 24  
A. Baryshev, "On Two Fronts," No 25  
V. Dolgov, "People on Guard," No 29  
G. Borisova, "The CIA, the Miskito Indians and the NDC," No 36  
V. Dolgov, "The Difficult Life of a Country Under Siege," No 38  
V. Dolgov, "Marlene vs. CIA," No 40  
A. Baryshev, "A Talk with the Reader," No 40  
V. Dolgov, "Episodes of Covert Aggression," No 47  
J. Suarez Espinoza, "Loyalty to Sandino's Ideals" (Interview), No 49  
"Nicaragua Through an Artist's Eyes" (Photo Essay), No 49  
Vl. Nesterov, "Defending Nicaragua's Freedom," No 51

#### New Zealand

L. Mikhaylov, "Linguistic Investigation" (Notes), No 26

#### Norway

D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "But What If It Helps?" (Notes), No 8  
D. Maksimov, "A Reliable Source..." (Notes), No 41

#### Oceania

L. Mikhaylov, "Nuclear Death in the Ocean" (Notes), No 19  
O. Kurochkin, "Creeping Annexation," No 31  
S. Zinchuk, "Victim of Imperial Pretensions," No 36  
A. Nikitin, "Like Swiss Cheese" (Notes), No 37

## Pakistan

- S. Irodov, "The Pentagon's Carrot," No 3  
A. Usvatov, "Things Are Not Going Well!", No 11  
L. Yelin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 20  
Ye. Konstantinov, "The Basmatch Drug Trade" (Notes), No 21  
L. Yelin, "The Genie from the Bottle," No 35  
Ye. L'vov, "A Cake with a Bitter Aftertaste" (Notes), No 38  
L. Yelin, "The Wick Has Been Lit," No 39  
L. Yelin, "What They Teach in Pakistan" (Notes), No 40  
L. Yelin, "What Things Should Be Called" (Notes), No 43  
L. Yelin, "Not Abandoned" (Notes), No 44  
Ye. Rumyantsev, "The Full Range of Protest," No 45

## Panama

- A. Baryshev, "Following an Old Scenario," No 9  
V. Dolgov, "Very Quiet Americans" (Notes), No 13

## Paraguay

- L. L'vov, "Self-Support" (Notes), No 9

## Poland

- "Warsaw in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 3  
"The Soviet-Polish Friendship Society Is 25 Years Old" (Photo Essay), No 5  
I. Trofimova, "Mutual Understanding," No 11  
T. Vasil'yev, "Washington Loses Its Gamble," No 13  
A. Ryzhov, "When Points of Reference Are Lost" (Based on Articles from the Warsaw weekly POLITIKA), No 19  
V. Bannov, "To Burn and Dismantle....," No 25  
"Poland in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 30  
V. Tsoppi, "Poland and the 'Maecenae,'" No 31  
V. Tsoppi, "The Return of Hope," No 40  
Yu. Kornilov, "Polish Poster," No 40

## Portugal

- E. Kovalev, "At a Crossroads," No 1  
E. Kovalev, "The Start of the Campaign Marathon," No 8  
E. Kovalev, "Soares Seeks Partners," No 19  
E. Kovalev, "Delayed-Action Mine," No 25

## Puerto Rico

- V. Listov, "The Tragedy of Vieques," No 26

## Romania

- A. Pogorzhe'skiy, "Addresses of Cooperation," No 6  
V. Zhitomirskiy, "From August to August," No 34

## El Salvador

- L. Nikolayev, "The 'Gorilla' Burns with Impatience" (Notes), No 3
- R. Tuchnin, "Putsch on a Volcano," No 4
- A. Baryshev, "Dangerous Criminals" (Notes), No 6
- J. Cobo, "Who Will Win," No 7
- A. Baryshev, "Oil on the Flames," No 12
- L. Nikolayev, "Repetition" (Notes), No 16
- A. Vladimirov, "The Same Stages?" (Notes), No 25
- A. Baryshev, "Pseudo-Peacemakers," No 30
- A. Baryshev, "A Talk with the Reader," No 40
- A. Vladimirov, "Running Away from 'Democracy'" (Notes), No 42
- V. Chirkov, "From the Right to the Left" (Notes), No 51

## San Marino

- S. Men'shikov, "The Republic of Three Towers," No 47

## Swaziland

- "Swaziland in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 15

## Seychelles

- L. Skuratov, "'Wild Geese' and Brigitte Bardot" (Notes), No 7

## St. Christopher-Nevis

- "Federation of St. Christopher and Nevis," No 39

## Singapore

- "Singapore in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 22
- L. Mikhaylov, "An Amicable Transaction" (Notes), No 36

## Syria

- A. Stepanov, "The Front Is Nearby...", No 3
- D. Vol'skiy, "Taking Aim at Damascus?", No 7
- D. Vol'skiy, "Threat to Damascus," No 18
- A. Stepanov, "Invariable Support," No 42
- D. Zgerskiy, "Syria Is Not Alone," No 47
- D. Zgerskiy, "Taking Aim at Syria," No 48

## United States of America

- L. Mikhaylov, "Respectable 'Roof'" (Notes), No 1
- S. Borisov, "A Little More Confusion," No 1
- V. Ksenin, "How Dangerous Is 'Agent Orange'?" (Notes), No 1
- Yu. Gudkov, "Banana Putsch," Nos 1, 2
- Yu. Bochkarev, "A Talk with the Reader," No 1

"The Enemy of All People" (Editorial page), No 2  
 "Is the United States Ready for an Agreement?", No 2  
 S. Mikhaylov, "Christmas Topics" (Notes), No 2  
 G. Sidorova, "Something Is Out of Kilter..." (Notes), No 3  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Signaling the President," No 3  
 F. Goryunov, "Two Years on a Slippery Path," No 4  
 N. Aleksandrov, "'Too Ticklish'" (Notes), No 4  
 S. Mikhaylov, "Senka and the Cap" (Notes), No 4  
 Ye. Makarov, "Halfway to Failure," No 5  
 A. Yugov, "Avoidance of Fervor," No 5  
 O. Valentinov, "What They Are Sowing Today...", No 5  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "Whatever Happened to the Military-Industrial Complex?" (Notes), No 5  
 V. Chernyavskiy, "Washington's Eye on Western Europe" (Political Books), No 5  
 L. Makarevich, "A Talk with the Reader," No 5  
 S. Golyakov, "Not Whipping-Boys," No 6  
 V. Dolgov, "Double-Target Maneuvers," No 6  
 O. Mikhaylov, "The Pentagon Is Dying To Go into Outer Space," No 6  
 L. Yelin, "'Silent Death' in America" (Notes), No 6  
 L. Nikolayev, "What Madam Sterling Is Not Saying" (Notes), No 6  
 L. Mikhaylov, "Dirty Money for Dirty Work" (Notes), No 6  
 V. Lavrenov, "Deadlocks of Agrarian Protectionism," No 6  
 Yu. Gudkov, "...And This Is Frightening," No 6  
 "Following in the Footsteps of the Conquerors" (Editorial page), No 7  
 V. Kuznetsov, "Two Branches of Imperial Globalism," No 7  
 N. Sergeyev, "The Economic Fifth Column," No 7  
 D. Vol'skiy, "The Near East Detonator," No 8  
 A. Baryshev, "Inflexible Reliance on Force," No 8  
 V. Midtsev, "Washington's Goal Is a Deadlock," No 8  
 N. Zholkver, "Enduring Statistics" (Notes), No 8  
 L. Makarevich, "Do-Re-Mi and 'Si'" (Notes), No 8  
 L. Yelisseyev, "Elections for Export" (Notes), No 8  
 "Obscurantism for Export" (Editorial page), No 9  
 A. Zlatorunskiy, "Provocation with a Target," No 9  
 A. Baryshev, "Following an Old Scenario," No 9  
 Yu. Knyazev, "Poison Pill" (Notes), No 9  
 G. Novosad, "Relevant and Irrelevant Visits" (Notes), No 9  
 A. Konovalov, "The Most Profitable Business," No 9  
 N. Aleksandrov, "Trust in God..." (Notes), No 10  
 L. Yelin, "He Knew Too Much" (Notes), No 10  
 A. Fokin and P. Filippov, "Apologists of Chemical Warfare," No 11  
 L. Makarevich, "Stamping but no Clapping" (Notes), No 11  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Indulgence for Anticommunism," No 11  
 G. Borisova, "27 to 9," No 12  
 D. Vol'skiy, "Second Cordon?", No 12  
 L. Makarevich, "What People in the Country Say," No 12  
 M. Chernousov, "Faith American-Style" (Political Books), No 12  
 A. Zlatorunskiy, "A Talk with the Reader," No 12  
 V. Kuznetsov, "Peace and Democracy," No 13  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Help in Killing," No 13  
 V. Dolgov, "Very Quiet Americans" (Notes), No 13

S. Korshunov, "The United States Does Not Want Meaningful Talks," No 13  
 "Again the Big Lie" (Editorial page), No 14  
 D. Vol'skiy, "Potential Theaters of War?", No 14  
 G. Sidorova, "Love American-Style" (Notes), No 14  
 L. Yelin, "Poisoned Dagger" (Notes), No 14  
 Yu. Yershov, "Do You Want To Work? Make Money!" (Notes), No 14  
 S. Golyakov, "Why the 'Interim Option' Is Unacceptable," No 15  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "How Scenarios Are Written" (Notes), No 15  
 S. Mikhaylov, "FBI vs. Hemingway," No 15  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Barney Clark's Ordeal," No 15  
 Yu. Zhilin, "Two-Faced Janus," No 16  
 D. Vol'skiy, "The Facade of Imperial Policy," No 16  
 Ye. L'vov, "'Post-Post-Watergate'" (Notes), No 16  
 L. Makarevich, "Dollars, Canned Goods and Missiles" (Notes), No 16  
 L. Medvedko, "Forces for War," No 17  
 A. Tolpegin, "The Price of Trust," No 17  
 L. Makarevich, "'How the Pike Drowned in the River'" (Notes), No 17  
 S. Mikhaylov, "21 out of 262" (Notes), No 17  
 Yu. Gudkov, "The Poisoning of America," No 17  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Americans Are Opening Their Eyes," No 18  
 Yu. Gvozdev, "Overture for Intervention?", No 18  
 A. Aleshin, "The Perpetrator Has Been Discovered" (Notes), No 18  
 L. Velikovich, "The Electronic Church," No 18  
 D. Vol'skiy, "The Dangerous 'Shuttle,'" No 19  
 V. Grishin, "The 'Pan-American' Projects," No 19  
 A. Baryshev, "On White House Orders," No 19  
 I. Bulay, "The 'Eastern Link' of Washington's Strategy," No 19  
 S. J. Barna, "To Whom It May Concern," No 19  
 B. Pechnikov, "Their Own People" (Notes), No 19  
 L. Makarevich, "Bread, Not Spectacle" (Notes), No 19  
 D. Antonov, "They Talk of Peace but Plan for War," No 20  
 A. Aleshin, "Grandma Louisa and Others" (Notes), No 20  
 D. Vol'skiy, "Alarm from Nicosia," No 21  
 L. Yelin, "Not for the Sake of Training" (Notes), No 21  
 G. Nikolayev, "Fire on...Our Own," No 21  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "The President and Pedagogics," No 22  
 J. Stone, "Bishops Against the Nuclear Threat," No 22  
 L. Yelin, "A Minor Eruption" (Notes), No 22  
 V. Grishin, "What Are the 'Soldiers of Fortune' Seeking" (Notes), No 22  
 A. Baryshev, "The Monroe Doctrine in a New Guise," No 22  
 "A Costly Risk," No 23  
 F. Goryunov, "Around the Corner, Around the Corner, Around the Corner..."  
 (Notes), No 23  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Formula for Failure," No 23  
 "The Common Public Enemy" (Editorial page), No 24  
 D. Maksimov, "How It Is Done" (Notes), No 24  
 Ye. L'vov, "Genetic and Ordinary Racism" (Notes), No 24  
 G. Tsagolov, "Disaster Lobby," No 24  
 A. Vladimirov, "The Same Stages?" (Notes), No 25  
 J. Stone, "Whom Does the Tax System Serve?", No 25  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Flight 801" (Notes), No 26

L. Bezymenskiy, "The Will of Joseph Polovskiy," No 26  
 D. Vol'skiy, "What Lies Behind the Reversal?", No 27  
 L. Makarevich, "Into the White House Through a Window?" (Notes), No 27  
 G. Sidorova, "A Step Across the Bridge," No 27  
 V. Pavlov, "Gallop Through Europe," No 28  
 L. Mlechin, "Admiral Long's List" (Notes), No 28  
 Yu. Gudkov, "The Jails Are Ready," No 28  
 R. Tuchnin, "Washington's Slide Toward Intervention," No 28  
 G. Sidorova, "Undermining" (Notes), No 29  
 Yu. Gudkov, "We Have Lost Our Patience...", No 29  
 L. Zhegalov, "Agreement on Disagreement," No 29  
 F. Goryunov, "A Shirt of One's Own," No 30  
 A. Baryshev, "Pseudo-Peacemakers," No 30  
 Yu. Gudkov, "The Trail Leads to Casey," No 30  
 D. Pogorzhe'skiy, "The General Said Too Much" (Notes), No 30  
 D. Smirnov, "400,000 a Year" (Notes), No 30  
 G. Sidorova, "The Military-Industrial Complex Syndrome" (Political Books), No 30  
 Yu. Gvozdev, "Dangerous Maneuvers," No 31  
 N. Zholkver, "Williamsburg Bubbles" (Notes), No 31  
 D. Smirnov, "Sunburn and Finance" (Notes), No 31  
 M. Chernousov, "Bombs on the Potomac," No 31  
 D. Vol'skiy, "A 'Shield for Democracy' or a Crusader's Sword?", No 32  
 Yu. Gudkov, "World Cycle Race-83 on the U.S. Roads," No 32  
 P. Andreyev, "The Secretary Is Reprimanded..." (Notes), No 32  
 F. Goryunov, "...And the Payoff for the Congressmen" (Notes), No 32  
 V. Ksenin, "Dallas, 25 Years Later" (Notes), No 32  
 M. Chervontseva, "What They Will Learn" (Notes), No 32  
 "On What Basis?" (Editorial page), No 33  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Closer to the Stove," No 33  
 A. Ulanskiy, "Who Are You, Mr. Shultz?" (Notes), No 33  
 A. Aleksimov, "START: Idling," No 34  
 D. Vol'skiy, "Along All the Azimuths," No 34  
 O. Mikhaylov and D. Pogorzhe'skiy, "Washington's Adventures in Space," No 35  
 V. Gushchin, "An Inquiry into Experience," No 35  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "'Rat' Tracks," No 35  
 G. Borisova, "To the Detector!" (Notes), No 35  
 M. Chervontseva, "They Are Worried..." (Notes), No 35  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Coalition of Conscience," No 36  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "They Are Playing Someone Else's Game," No 36  
 F. Goryunov, "On or Off?", No 36  
 A. Baryshev, "'Vietnamization' or Direct Intervention?", No 36  
 Yu. Gvozdev, "A Common Stand Is Taking Shape," No 36  
 V. Chirkov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 36  
 V. Viktorov, "An Irresponsible Game," No 37  
 V. Nikolayev, "The 'Quiet Americans' on Arab Land," No 37  
 A. Baryshev, "Maneuvers and Maneuvering," No 37  
 N. Zholkver, "Invitation to a Murder" (Notes), No 37  
 "Imperialist Piracy" (Editorial page), No 38  
 V. Gushchin, "The Criminal Logic of Political Recklessness," No 38  
 Yu. Gudkov, "With a Colt and a Sheriff's Badge," No 38

A. Usvatov, "Washington Pulls the Trigger," No 39  
 A. Kuzin, "Congress, the Stock Market and Flight 007," No 39  
 A. Vladimirov, "Instrument of War" (Notes), No 39  
 N. Yakovlev, "'Cold War' Kamikaze," No 39  
 D. Vol'skiy, "The Mirages of the Adventurists," No 40  
 "Spy Complex in Action," No 40  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "They Are Undermining the United Nations," No 40  
 Ye. L'vov, "What Would General Grant Say?" (Notes), No 40  
 M. Polumordvinova, "President's Council" (Notes), No 40  
 Yu. Gudkov, "The Revenge Against Eddie Carten," No 40  
 M. Frolov, "Fact and Fiction," No 41  
 L. Makarevich, "The Affairs of 'Henry & Co.'" (Notes), No 41  
 V. Gushchin, "Save the President's Boeing!" (Notes), No 41  
 I. Bulay, "Under Militarist Sails," No 42  
 G. Sidorova, "'Friends' of Congress and the Court" (Notes), No 42  
 L. Makarevich, "Boomerang," No 42  
 V. Vasil'yev, "What Lies Behind Washington's 'Flexibility,'" No 43  
 D. Vol'skiy, "No One Has the Right," No 43  
 V. Volodin and V. Ksenin, "Where Are Scandals More Shocking: On the Potomac or on the Thames?" (Notes), No 43  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "What Worries Brian Jones," No 44  
 Ye. Velikhov, "Scientists Are Concerned" (Interview), No 44  
 A. Baryshev, "Preparations for an Invasion?", No 44  
 G. Sidorova, "A Trio of Assistants..." (Notes), No 44  
 V. Gushchin, "...And a Couple of Jokes" (Notes), No 44  
 Yu. Mader, "The White House and Its Secret Empire," Nos 44, 45  
 A. Usvatov, "Taking Aim at the Middle East," No 45  
 D. Vol'skiy, "The Aggressor's Mistake," No 45  
 A. Baryshev, "By Whom and How the Bandit Raid Was Organized," No 45  
 G. Sidorova, "A Few Words About Legality" (Notes), No 45  
 "Rage and Anxiety" (Editorial page), No 46  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Grenada Lesson," No 46  
 Yu. Knyazev, "Reasonable Conclusions Do Not Count" (Notes), No 46  
 G. Sidorova, "For Outstanding Adventurism" (Notes), No 46  
 M. Chernousov, "The First Half-Century," No 46  
 D. Vol'skiy, "Under the Black Sails of Violence," No 47  
 O. Valentinov, "Amoral Moralists," No 47  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Tokyo Show," No 47  
 V. Gushchin, "Alien Personal Opinion" (Notes), No 47  
 D. Maksimov, "To a 'Radiant Future' or a New Round?" (Notes), No 47  
 V. Dolgov, "Episodes of Covert Aggression," No 47  
 L. Makarevich, "A Talk with the Reader," No 47  
 "The Planet, Grenada and Missiles" (Editorial page), No 48  
 S. Joseph, "Taking the Foolhardy Course" (Interview), No 48  
 V. Bunin, "Sinister Triangle," No 48  
 V. Mashin, "In a World of Fear" (Notes), No 48  
 S. Borisov, "Confidential Relations" (Notes), No 48  
 V. Gushchin, "Armed and Extremely Dangerous," No 48  
 F. Goryunov, "A Talk with the Reader," No 48  
 Yu. Deporov, "Piracy in the Caribbean and the Law," No 49  
 L. Yelin, "Anti-American Ego" (Notes), No 49

D. Poznyak, "Literally on the Day After" (Notes), No 49  
 V. Gorskiy, "The Truth About 'Facts'" (Political Books), No 49  
 A. Nikolayev, "The Misinformers' Soap Bubbles," No 49  
 G. Sidorova, "A Talk with the Reader," No 49  
 Yu. Zhukov, "Two Sides of Imperial Policy," No 50  
 D. Vol'skiy, "A Castle in the Sand...or Made of Sand?", No 50  
 A. Kosenko, "Not Ambiguous, but Hypocritical" (Notes), No 50  
 N. Zholkver, "You Scratch My Back and I'll Scratch Yours" (Notes), No 50  
 L. Dekabrev, "Detector for the Director" (Notes), No 50  
 L. Yelin, "Their 'Roofs'" (Notes), No 50  
 V. Gushchin, "The Might Is Right Code," No 50  
 L. Chausov, "Falsity Tests Expanded" (Notes), No 51  
 L. Yelin, "Escape from a Hole-Ridden 'Roof'" (Notes), No 51  
 Yu. Gudkov, "Pentagon Charter vs. UN Charter," No 51  
 G. Sidorova, "The Bridge Is Being Built," No 52  
 V. Gushchin, "Mushroom Cloud or Manna from Heaven?" (Notes), No 52  
 V. Mashin, "Following in the Dinosaurs' Footsteps" (Notes), No 52

#### Somalia

Yu. Bochkarev, "Metamorphosis of a Regime," No 14

#### Sudan

S. Medvedko, "Happiness Cannot Be Reached on Someone Else's Road," No 50

#### Surinam

V. Sobolev, "People and Mercenaries," No 22

#### Thailand

Yu. Kuz'michev, "Who Is Escalating Tension," No 16  
 V. Godyna, "The Key to Stabilization," No 17  
 L. Mlechin, "Conflicting Tendencies," No 18

#### Turkey

A. Ulanskiy, "Judicial Machine vs. Democrats," No 7  
 "Istanbul in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 13  
 A. Ulanskiy, "'Blues' vs. 'Oranges'" (Notes), No 28  
 L. Milovanov, "Almost 75 Years Ago" (Notes), No 34

#### Federal Republic of Germany

A. Tolpegin, "The Great Idea" (Notes), No 1  
 A. Tolpegin, "'We Will Continue Our Struggle,'" No 2  
 Ye. Bovkun, "Dietrich Kittner's Pocket Theater," No 2  
 A. Tolpegin, "Facing Elections, Facing a Choice," No 3  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "'Flaws' and Lessons of History," No 3  
 D. Il'in, "Dialogue in Bonn," No 4



N. Zholkver, "Grounds for Optimism?" (Notes), No 4  
 A. Tolpegin, "Attitudes and Predictions," No 5  
 Yu. Baltis, "Missile Load or Stability," No 6  
 A. Tolpegin, "'Jobs Instead of Missiles,'" No 7  
 "A Particularly Enchanting Ball" (Notes), No 7  
 A. Tolpegin, "Lobbycracy," No 8  
 L. Smirnova, "I Am Looking for a Place..." (Notes), No 9  
 A. Tolpegin, "Emphasis on 'Reaganomics,'" No 10  
 N. Zholkver, "Poison Legacy" (Notes), No 10  
 K. Karagez'yan and A. Tolpegin, "The Elections Are Over But the Problems Remain," No 11  
 A. Tolpegin, "Not Only in Secluded Offices," No 12  
 N. Zholkver, "Minus School, Plus 'Tornado'" (Notes), No 12  
 Yu. Ginzburg, "Philanthropists with a Swastika," No 12  
 G. Sergeyev, "Gas, Pipes and Painting," No 13  
 N. Zholkver, "False Diagnosis" (Notes), No 13  
 N. Aleksandrov, "2,535,836," No 13  
 Yu. Yershov, "You Want To Work? Make Money!" (Notes), No 14  
 N. Zholkver, "I See Nothing" (Notes), No 14  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "Conscience Knows No Bounds," No 14  
 A. Tolpegin, "A Government Has Been Formed, But There Is No Definite Program," No 15  
 A. Tolpegin, "'Only By Working Together Can We Succeed,'" No 16  
 A. Tolpegin, "The Price of Trust," No 17  
 "Shoot First, Then Ask Questions" (Notes), No 17  
 V. Pavlov, "Rebel from the Bundeswehr," No 17  
 A. Tolpegin, "A Hole-Ridden Net," No 18  
 L. Smirnova, "Is a Nuclear-Free Zone a Betrayal?" (Notes), No 18  
 N. Zholkver, "Paper Will Endure" (Notes), No 19  
 L. Smirnova, "Fiction Close to Fact" (Notes), No 19  
 A. Tolpegin, "Door to the Future...or to the Past?", No 20  
 N. Zholkver, "Missile Bushes" (Notes), No 20  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "Like Hot Rolls" (Notes), No 21  
 E. Karlebakh, "Why 'Hitler's Diaries' Came To Light," No 22  
 N. Zholkver, "Yesterday's and Today's" (Notes), No 22  
 A. Tolpegin, "Existence Itself Is at Stake," No 23  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "CDU Image," No 23  
 "Missile Tablets" (Notes), No 23  
 N. Zholkver, "A Talk with the Reader," No 23  
 A. Tolpegin, "Before It Is Too Late," No 24  
 "The Practice of Detente," No 24  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "They Do Not Fear SPIEGEL!" (Notes), No 24  
 V. Rozen, "Benevolent Nonintervention" (Notes), No 25  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Difficult Road to Partnership," No 26  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "From Yesterday's Vantage Point" (Notes), No 27  
 V. Pavlov, "Again the 'Starfighter'" (Notes), No 27  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "To Preserve and Multiply," No 28  
 A. Tolpegin, "Provocation in Krefeld," No 28  
 Vl. Kuznetsov, "The Tried and Tested Route or the Unpredictable Path?", No 29  
 L. Smirnova, "The Mystery of the 'Moselle Triangle'" (Notes), No 32  
 A. Tolpegin, "'Unemployed but Not Unprotected!'," No 33

L. Smirnova, "Electronic Informant" (Notes), No 33  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "They Are Waiting, for Now..." (Notes), No 34  
 L. Smirnova, "Geisler, Zimmerman & Co." (Notes), No 35  
 N. Zholkver, "Diversion" (Notes), No 36  
 L. Smirnova, "The Concerns of Herr Sudhoff" (Notes), No 37  
 N. Zholkver, "Hoping, Hoping..." (Notes), No 38  
 A. Tolpegin, "When Resistance Becomes a Duty," No 39  
 L. Smirnova, "Absolution" (Notes), No 39  
 A. Tolpegin, "Two Defeats," No 40  
 M. Podvigin, "Armchairs for the 'Hot Autumn'" (Notes), No 40  
 A. Kosenko, "For Whom Are the Graves Being Dug" (Notes), No 41  
 H. Zholkver, "The 'Browns' Hold Rallies" (Notes), No 42  
 A. Tolpegin, "The Burden of a 'Double Decision,'" No 42  
 A. Tolpegin, "Dialogue in Hamburg," No 43  
 "'...Until We Succeed,'" No 44  
 A. Kosenko, "About the Issue" (Notes), No 44  
 A. Tolpegin, "Corrupt 'Democracy,'" No 44  
 V. Gushchin, "Who Will Offer More" (Notes), No 45  
 A. Tolpegin, "Arms Race Scenarios," No 46  
 A. Tolpegin, "Old Songs, Voices Out of Tune" (Notes), No 47  
 L. Bezymenskiy, "Why Countess Doenhoff Is Right," No 47  
 A. Tolpegin, "The Social Democrats' Decision," No 48  
 N. Zholkver, "Look Under the Bed" (Notes), No 48  
 A. Tolpegin, "An Error of Historic Dimensions," No 49  
 A. Tolpegin, "Live Next Door to 'Persings'?", No 51  
 A. Kun, "From the Standpoint of the Bundestag and Bundeswehr" (Notes), No 51  
 B. Zaritskiy, "It Reeks of the Prussian Spirit" (Notes), No 51  
 L. Dekabrev, "With the Smile of Jolly Roger" (Notes), No 52

#### Philippines

V. Irinin, "Amendments Make Little Change," No 30  
 Al. Petrov, "Roots of the Crisis," No 44

#### Finland

N. Ivanov, "Good Neighbor Assets," No 14  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "Verified by History," No 16  
 "Finagroprom-83" (Photo Essay), No 17  
 D. Kartashev, "Bright Prospects," No 23  
 D. Kartashev, "Upholding Tradition," No 24  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "The Only Reasonable Choice," No 25  
 "On Fidelity to Agreements" (Editorial page), No 47  
 "Trade-Union Contacts," No 50  
 D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "In the Spirit of Traditional Friendship," No 52  
 L. Kupriyanov, "Despite the Difference in Systems," No 52

#### France

V. Semenov, "An Unfamiliar Voice," No 3  
 L. Makarov, "Big Committee in Action," No 4

- V. Gusenkov, "Reality and Possibility," No 7
- S. Borisov, "The Dialogue Must Continue," No 9
- V. Lavrenov, "The Right Is Dying for Revenge," No 10
- "Reunion in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 10
- V. Lavrenov, "Revenge Was Impossible," No 12
- L. Makarevich, "Three Results," No 14
- V. Semenov, "Sharp Turnabout," No 15
- L. Makarov, "Indignation and Bewilderment," No 17
- T. Shavrova, "Trade Unions and the 'Delors Plan,'" No 18
- L. Makarevich, "Indiscreet Intuition" (Notes), No 18
- V. Semenov, "Evolution of Military Doctrine," No 21
- V. Midtsev, "Taking the Previous Line," No 22
- O. Morgachev, "Dialogue Between Partners," No 22
- V. Semenov, "Without Fanfare," No 25
- L. Makarevich, "Right, Right..." (Notes), No 25
- N. Zholkver, "Athletic Stunts" (Notes), No 26
- A. Stepanov, "Friendship Train from France," No 29
- V. Semenov, "Between Washington and Bonn," No 29
- "What the Communists Propose" (Editorial page), No 30
- A. Stepanov, "In the Spirit of Good Traditions," No 31
- M. Chervontseva, "Legalized Contempt" (Notes), No 36
- V. Kravtsov, "Dialogue in Paris," No 38
- M. Chervontseva, "A Choice Has Been Made" (Notes), No 39
- V. Semenov, "A Difficult Autumn," No 42
- D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "The Life and Struggle of Jacques Duclos" (Political Books), No 45
- V. Gusenkov and Yu. Zuyev, "What the French Socialist Congress Proved," No 46
- A. Baranova, "They Have Declared War on Pacifists" (Notes), No 47
- N. Zholkver, "The Latest Session," No 49
- V. Midtsev, "Better Late Than Never," No 52

#### Chad

- D. Vol'skiy, "'Operation Chad,'" No 28
- Yu. Bochkarev, "Oil on the Flames," No 29
- L. Skuratov, "Escalation of Intervention," No 31
- L. Skuratov, "The Mercenaries Return," No 32
- "On What Basis?" (Editorial page), No 33
- L. Skuratov, "And What Would a Look Around Tell Us?" (Notes), No 34
- Yu. Bochkarev, "Who Is Escalating the Conflict," No 35
- Yu. Bochkarev, "Return to the 'Wasp's Nest,'" No 37
- Yu. Bochkarev, "Interventionists at a Deadlock," No 43

#### Czechoslovakia

- "Bratislava in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 2
- V. Shelepin, "Near Moscow and Near Prague," No 4
- I. Trofimova, "The Legacy of Julius Fucik" (Political Books), No 8
- E. Erban, "Triumphant February," No 9
- "Prague Days in Moscow" (Photo Essay), No 9
- I. Trofimova, "Josef Chour from Mil," No 19

"Prague in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 19  
M. Nol'ch, "Prague Lies Ahead," No 21  
"Czechoslovak Pioneers in the USSR" (Photo Essay), No 33  
V. Zagladin, "Viewing the 'Persings' Through the Prism of History," No 37  
V. Zagladin, "Socialism in a Developed Country," No 39  
I. Trofimova, "Alignment," No 41  
I. Trofimova, "Metamorphoses of the 'Golden Canal,'" No 50

#### Chile

A. Baryshev, "'Alibi' for Pinochet," No 7  
A. Baryshev, "Pinochet on the Volcano," No 21  
A. Vladimirov, "Pinochet Is Challenged," No 26  
I. Rybalkin, "'Democracy Without Delay!'", No 29  
Yu. Zvyagin, "Will It Last?", No 34  
Yu. Godunskiy, "Model of Crisis and Poverty," No 37  
V. Kostin, "Something New About the Secrets of the 'Centaur,'" No 43

#### Switzerland

N. Aleksandrov, "Tanks in 'Chocolate Heaven'" (Notes), No 8  
N. Aleksandrov, "Tank Fever" (Notes), No 37  
V. Kuznetsov, "Elections With No Surprises," No 47

#### Sweden

V. Ksenin, "Nothing Special..." (Notes), No 5  
N. Vukolov, "'Moms' and the Burden of Crisis," No 11  
D. Pogorzhe'skiy, "'YAS'?--'Yes!'" (Notes), No 12  
D. Maksimov, "Rings on the Water" (Notes), No 23

#### Sri Lanka

"Sri Lanka in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 6  
A. Knyazev, "Hard Days," No 33

#### Ecuador

S. Golyakov, "Two Steps from the Equator," No 14  
"Ecuador in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 21

#### Ethiopia

"Ethiopia in Focus" (Photo Essay), No 37

#### Yugoslavia

L. Khar'kov, "Affairs and Concerns of Smederevo," No 12  
L. Khar'kov, "Belgrade Dialogue," No 14  
L. Khar'kov, "Yugoslavian Economic Problems," No 22  
L. Khar'kov, "Opening Nights in Belgrade," No 37  
L. Khar'kov, "On the Territory of Vojvodina," No 48

## Republic of South Africa

- M. Zaripov, "Where Have the Atom-Mongers Gone?" (Notes), No 9  
N. Zholkver, "Friends and Customers" (Notes), No 9  
V. Tetekin, "They Scare the Racists," No 12  
L. Skuratov, "The Racists Misfire," No 13  
M. Zaripov, "No Agreement" (Notes), No 14  
Yu. Bochkarev, "Pretoria's Ambitions," No 15  
A. Dolgov, "By Hook or by Crook," No 17  
N. Aleksandrov, "What Bothers Botha" (Notes), No 20  
D. Zverev, "Insane Asylum or Concentration Camp?" (Notes), No 21  
L. Skuratov, "The Racists' New Crime," No 23  
T. Sevast'yanova, "Bloodshot Eyes" (Notes), No 25  
D. Antonov, "The Murderers from Pretoria," No 25  
V. Midtsev, "Exposed Alliance," No 33  
L. Skuratov and Yu. Lebedev, "'Independent Bantustans.' Present...and Future" (Notes), No 33  
L. Skuratov, "Traces of Connivance," No 35  
S. Demidov, "Reforms in Action" (Notes), No 36  
Yu. Bochkarev, "Reliance on Criminals" (Notes), No 41  
L. Goncharov, "Mainsprings of Aggression," No 41  
N. Zholkver, "Botha One, Botha Two, Thatcher Three" (Notes), No 43  
L. Skuratov, "The impotence of the 'Iron Fist,'" No 44  
A. Dolgov, "Dodging," No 49  
Ye. L'vov, "Where Do You Want To Die?" (Notes), No 51

## Japan

- Yu. Tavrovskiy, "The Puppeteers Are Known" (Notes), No 1  
L. Mlechin, "Stone Around the Neck" (Notes), No 2  
Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Ogatamura's Concerns," No 3  
Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Delayed-Action Gifts," No 5  
L. Mlechin, "Regardless of the Sentence" (Notes), No 6  
L. Mlechin, "The Witness Must Be Silent" (Notes), No 8  
S. Nagano, "To Moscow with Optimism" (Interview), No 9  
L. Mlechin, "Fruitful Dialogue," No 10  
M. Leonidov, "Playing in the Snow" (Notes), No 10  
L. Yelin, "The Two and a Third" (Notes), No 11  
M. Leonidov, "To Be Continued?" (Notes), No 11  
M. Leonidov, "Exceptionally Peaceful Kabuki" (Notes), No 12  
M. Leonidov, "They Have Learned Nothing" (Notes), No 13  
Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Drumbeat," No 14  
Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Gray Jeeps from the Past," No 15  
Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Test of Strength," No 16  
M. Leonidov, "'Tatemaie' and 'Honne'" (Notes), No 16  
V. Godyna, "Echoes of the Nanking Massacre," No 18  
I. Bulay, "The 'Eastern Link' of Washington's Strategy," No 19  
M. Leonidov, "Uncomfortable Neighborhood" (Notes), No 19  
Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Ten Feet of Documentary Film," No 19  
M. Leonidov, "Expecting Praise" (Notes), No 20  
Yu. Lugovskiy, "The 'New Changes' in Japanese Policy," No 21

M. Leonidov, "In Sight" (Notes), No 24  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "NATO Supporters in Tokyo," No 25  
 L. Mlechin, "...Can One Get Into Parliament Through a Safe?" (Notes), No 27  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Island Behind Barbed Wire," No 27  
 L. Mlechin, "Admiral Long's List" (Notes), No 28  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Okinawa's Crown of Thorns," No 28  
 L. Mlechin, "Operation 'Money for UNO'" (Notes), No 29  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "The Swastika in an Antique Shop..." (Notes), No 30  
 L. Mlechin, "Facts Which Disappeared" (Notes), No 31  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Rehearsal for Hiroshima," No 31  
 N. Vasin, "Out of Tune" (Notes), No 33  
 L. Mlechin, "A Talk with the Reader," No 33  
 L. Mlechin, "And They Will Pay" (Notes), No 35  
 V. Arsen'yev, "Nostalgia," No 35  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "They Are Playing Someone Else's Game," No 36  
 L. Mlechin, "The Force of Worker Solidarity," No 37  
 S. Morimura, "Devil's Kitchen," No 37  
 L. Mlechin, "'Not Such a Bad Guy'" (Notes), No 38  
 L. Mlechin, "Roses Without Thorns" (Notes), No 39  
 Yu. Stolyarov, "Skidding Locomotive," No 39  
 L. Mlechin, "Challenge and Response" (Notes), No 40  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "On the Theatrical and Political Stage," No 40  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Where Taro-San Is Rushing" (Notes), No 42  
 L. Mlechin, "A Little Over 20 Years Later" (Notes), No 43  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "'Tanaka-Gate': Final Act Without a Finale," No 43  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Kyoto, Stronghold of Tradition," No 44  
 L. Mlechin, "Old Role, New Performance" (Notes), No 45  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Nakasone's Options," No 46  
 "Why Are They Blushing in Tokyo?" (Notes), No 46  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Tokyo Show," No 47  
 V. Bunin, "Sinister Triangle," No 48  
 Ye. Parnova, "Women Against the Nuclear Threat," No 49  
 V. Galin, "What Is Good for Tanaka Is Bad for Someone Else" (Notes), No 49  
 Yu. Tavrovskiy, "Vote of No Confidence," No 52

#### Political Books

V. Chernyavskiy, "Washington's Eye on Western Europe" (on the anthology "Gryaznaya rabota. TsRU v Zapadnoy Yevrope" [Dirty Work. The CIA in Western Europe]), No 5  
 V. Ulasevich, "The Grenada Experience" (on the collected speeches of M. Bishop, "Selected Speeches, 1979-1981"), No 7  
 I. Trofimova, "The Legacy of Julius Fucik (on the two-volume "Selected Works" by J. Fucik), No 8  
 L. Mlechin, "The Palme Commission's Warnings" (on the report of the Palme Commission to the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, "Security for All. A Disarmament Program"), No 9  
 S. Beglov, "Keys to the Answer to the Question of Questions" (on the book "Razoruzheniye: kontseptsii, problemy, mekhanizm" [Disarmament: Theories, Problems, Machinery] by V. Petrovskiy), No 10

- M. Chernousov, "Faith American-Style" (on the books "Siluety Vashingtona" [Washington Silhouettes] and "TsRU protiv SSSR" [CIA vs. USSR] by N. Yakovlev), No 12
- D. Zgerskiy, "Anatomy of a Betrayal" (on the book "Kemp-Devid: politika, obrechennaya na proval" [Camp David: A Policy Destined To Fail] by A. Zakharov and O. Fomin), No 13
- M. Martynenko, "James Connolly and the Ulster Problem" (on the book "James Connolly" by R. D. Edwards), No 16
- V. Pokhvalin, "The Free People's General" (on the collection of documents and papers "The Ideological Legacy of Sandino"), No 17
- A. Kozlov, "Both Unique and Universal" (on the book "Lenin i put' k sotsializmu" [Lenin and the Road to Socialism] by Ye. Ambartsumov), No 18
- Yu. Bochkarev, "The Depths of Self-Awareness" (on the book "Khaos i garmoniya" [Chaos and Harmony] by V. Iordanskiy), No 21
- V. Rubtsov, "Heartfelt Memory" (on the book "Krutyie stupeni" [Steep Steps] by Yu. Zhukov), No 22
- V. Godyna, "Still in Formation" (on the book "Thoughts About Africa" by Ho Chi Minh), No 24
- G. Sidorova, "The Military-Industrial Complex Syndrome" (on the book "Vlastiteli Ameriki" [The Rulers of America] by N. Karev), No 30
- M. Tkachev, "There Were the Benhai Rivers" (on the novel "Yuzhneye reki Benhay" [South of Benhai River] by M. Domogatskikh), No 31
- Yu. Petrov, "Soviet Diplomatic Herald" (on the almanac "Diplomatic Herald, 1982"), No 34
- M. Chernousov, "A Developing Offensive" (on the book "Sovetskiy Soyuz predlagayet..." [The Soviet Union Proposes...] by Vl. Kuznetsov), No 38
- D. Pogorzhel'skiy, "The Life and Struggle of Jacques Duclos" (on the book "Zhak Dyuklo" [Jacques Duclos] by V. N. Sedykh), No 45
- A. Kosenko, "Two Approaches" (on the book "Razoruzheniye: kto protiv?" [Disarmament: Who Objects?]), No 47
- V. Gorskiy, "The Truth About 'the Facts'" (on the documentary narrative "Pogoda na zavtra" [Tomorrow's Weather] by V. Viktorov), No 49
- V. Yemel'yanov, "Before It Is Too Late" (on the book "The Prevention of Nuclear War. The Opinions of Soviet Scientists," published by the UN Academic Research Institute), No 50
- L. Bezymenskiy, "An Interview Lasting More Than a Year" (on the book "Vstupaya v 80-ye..." [Entering the 1980's...] by G. Arbatov and V. Oltmans), No 51
- I. Titov, "Britain: The Facade and What Lies Behind It" (on the book "Londonskiy dnevnik" [London Diary] by V. Larin), No 51

#### People and Politics

- 'Aziz, Tariq (Iraq), No 10
- Alfonsin, Raul Ricardo (Argentina), No 52
- Varkonyi, Peter (Hungary), No 38
- Vayrynen, Paavo (Finland), No 30
- Gayoom, Maumoon Abdul (Maldives), No 47
- Gonzalez Marquez, Felipe (Spain), No 1
- Sinowatz, Fred (Austria), No 28
- Craxi, Benedetto (Bettino) (Italy), No 35

Li Xiannian (China), No 27  
Nakasone, Yasuhiro (Japan), No 5  
Peng Zhen (China), No 27  
Simmonds, Kennedy Alphonse (St. Christopher-Nevis), No 39  
Howe, Geoffrey (Great Britain), No 34  
Hawke, Robert James Lee (Australia), No 14  
Chand, Lokendra Bahadur (Nepal), No 41  
Spiljak, Mika (Yugoslavia), No 24

#### Documents

"An Open Letter to the Women of Europe and North America from the Soviet Women's Committee Plenum," No 10  
"Statement of the Conference of the Chief Executives of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam," No 10  
"Statement on the Arrival of Vietnamese Volunteer Forces in Kampuchea," No 10  
"Speeches by Fidel Castro and Indira Gandhi at the Seventh Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries," No 12  
"A Message," No 12  
"A Message to the Scientists of the World," No 16  
"Statement of the SSOD and the Soviet Committee for Friendship and Solidarity with the Palestinian Arabs," No 19  
"Statement of the Soviet Women's Committee," No 19  
"Documents of the Seventh Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries," No 23  
"Press Conference of the Soviet Public Anti-Zionist Committee," No 25  
"The Meeting in Moscow. A Joint Statement," No 27  
"Proclamation of the World Assembly in Prague," No 27  
"Joint Statement by Delegations from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the French Communist Party," No 30  
"Final Document of the 1980 Madrid Meeting of Representatives of States Party to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Based on the Provisions of the Final Act and Pertaining to Further Steps Following the Conference," No 39  
"Statement of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Yu. V. Andropov," No 41  
"An Open Letter of Appeal to the Jews of the United States," No 46  
"Long-Range Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and SRV," No 47  
"Statement of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Yu. V. Andropov," No 49  
"Statement of the Presidium of the All-Union Central Trade-Union Council," No 50

In addition, foreign-language editions of NOVOYE VREMYA included:

"Yu. V. Andropov's Answers to the Questions of American Political Correspondent J. Kingsbury-Smith," No 2  
"Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States," No 3  
"A. A. Gromyko's Answers to the Questions of a PRAVDA Correspondent," No 10  
"Yu. V. Andropov's Answers to the Questions of a PRAVDA Correspondent," No 14



"Yu. V. Andropov's Replies to SPIEGEL's Questions (FRG)," No 18  
 "Yu. V. Andropov's Reply to the Appeal of a Group of American Scientists and Public Spokesmen," No 19  
 "Yu. V. Andropov's Replies to the Questions of Representatives of Several Finnish Public Organizations," No 20  
 "Proclamation of the All-Union Conference of Scientists for the Deliverance of Mankind from the Danger of Nuclear War and for Disarmament and Peace," No 22  
 "Statement of the Soviet Government," No 23  
 "'On the International Situation and the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union.' Speech by A. A. Gromyko at a Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet," No 26  
 "The Replies of USSR Minister of Defense D. F. Ustinov, Marshal of the Soviet Union, to the Questions of a TASS Correspondent," No 32  
 "Comrade Yu. V. Andropov Receives U.S. Labor Leader," No 35  
 "Yu. V. Andropov Receives American Senators," No 35  
 "Yu. V. Andropov's Replies to PRAVDA's Questions," No 36  
 "Take Action Before It Is Too Late. A Message from the Trade Unions of the European Socialist Countries to All Trade Unions and Workers of Europe," No 41  
 "Communique of a Meeting of the Warsaw Pact Committee of Foreign Ministers," No 43  
 "Yu. V. Andropov's Replies to PRAVDA's Questions," No 45  
 "Yu. V. Andropov's Reply to the Appeal of the Third International Congress of 'Physicians of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War,'" No 45

#### NOVOYE VREMYA Atlas

Greece, No 8  
 Italy, No 11  
 Sweden, No 14  
 Finland, No 20  
 Norway, No 35

In 1983 subscribers were sent a free supplementary aid to the political information agent: "NATO--Instrument of Aggression" (with No 33).

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NATIONAL

SHEVARDNADZE ON 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF RUSSIAN-GEORGIAN TREATY

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 28 Oct 83 pp 1-6

[Report by Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party, Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze on the 200th anniversary of the Georgiyevsk Treaty of Friendship Between Russia and Georgia: "A great Holiday of Friendship and Fraternity"]

[Text] This year Soviet Georgia is celebrating a great national and international holiday: the 200th anniversary of the great manifesto of fraternity and friendship between the peoples of Russia and Georgia--the Georgiyevsk Treaty.

This holiday is being celebrated not only in Soviet Georgia and in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. It is being celebrated in the entire Soviet Union, in all of the fraternal republics, for, in the first place, a holiday of one socialist nation is a holiday of all of our fraternal peoples who are united by our Leninist friendship of peoples into a single fraternal family, and, secondly, with its entrance into the Russian state Georgia and the Georgian people tied their historical destiny with the destiny not only of the Russian people, but of all the peoples of great Russia. For this reason our national holiday is a holiday for all of the Soviet peoples and nationalities.

Not too long ago the workers of Georgia marked the 325th anniversary of the reunification of the Ukraine and Russia, the 250th anniversary of Kazakhstan's entrance into the Russian state, the 150th anniversary of the joining of Armenia with Russia. In 1964 there was a gala celebration of the 150th anniversary of the joining of Northern Azerbaijan with Russia, and celebrations of the anniversaries of our other fraternal peoples who have forever bound their historical destinies with that of Russia--holidays which have demonstrated the genuine triumph of the friendship of peoples, of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

The holiday of the linking in kinship for all times of the Russian and Georgian peoples is being celebrated by the republic in an atmosphere of unanimous solidarity of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry, the people's intelligentsia and the youth of Soviet Georgia around the Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and in an atmosphere of great labor and political activeness.

The workers of Soviet Georgia have ardently approved the decisions of the November (1982) and June (1983) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the political and economic actions of global significance which are being carried out at the initiative of the leader of our party and state, Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov.

They are actively supporting the course mapped out by the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and in speeches of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and other party and government leaders aimed at the further economic progress of our country, the strengthening of its defense capability and the political and moral unity of the Soviet society, and at the maintenance of peace on our planet.

The 200th anniversary of the Georgiyevsk Treaty which is being celebrated on a large scale is, above all, a very important political and ideological action, and the republic's party organization regards it as an important stage in the accomplishment of the tasks posed by the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in the field of further improvement of ideological and mass political work, and in the education of our workers in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

The anniversary of the Georgiyevsk Treaty was preceded by the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--one of the greatest events in the history of mankind, which turned into a triumphant demonstration of the victory of real socialism.

As Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov observed with complete justification in his report "Sixty Years of the USSR" "the interests of our republic are becoming more and more closely interwoven, and mutual assistance and interrelations are becoming increasingly fruitful...."

Each of our Union republics--the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Belorussia, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, Georgia and Azerbaijan, Lithuania and Moldavia, Latvia and Kirghiziya, Tajikistan and Armenia, Turkmeniya and Estonia--each of them, I repeat, is making an indispensable contribution to the general economic and cultural progress of the Soviet Union."

Our holiday today is an important landmark in the latest stage in the history of Soviet Georgia and the republic's party organization. This stage began on the day of the adoption of the CPSU Central Committee's decree on the Tbilisi party gorkom, which has been an historical one for us.

During this past decade alone, as we know, seven decrees have been adopted by the CPSU Central Committee on the Georgian Republic and its party, which have written a new chapter in the history of Soviet Georgia.

It is precisely in the struggle for the realization of these decrees that an atmosphere has been established in the republic, which is characterized by a Leninist, class, and scientific approach to social developments on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology, by profound political and theoretical thought, by a healthy moral climate, a creative approach to problems, innovation and continuity, a strengthening of discipline and increased responsibility in the

masses, the further development of democracy, the universal establishment of the Leninist style and Leninist norms and principles of work and leadership, the cultivation in our workers of a feeling of being the master of their country and the achievement on this basis of new economic and cultural victories, constant concern for improving the well-being of the people, confidence in the respect for the individual, successes in patriotic and internationalist education, and improvement in international relations. This atmosphere is characteristic for our entire party and the entire country, and it is what is creating our festive mood.

During the last 10 years the workers of Soviet Georgia have been awarded the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the AUCCTU, and the Komsomol Central Committee 10 times in a row for their successes in our All-Union Socialist Competitions.

On the 10th anniversary of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the Tbilisi party gorkom the capital of Soviet Georgia--Tbilisi--was awarded the Order of Lenin. The Order of Lenin was also awarded to Georgia's Komsomol--our hope for the future.

These facts are not accidental. Their basis in law is determined by our high consciousness of the fact that any holiday, as noted in a recent discussion we had with Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, is valuable only when it is adorned with concrete deeds.

V. I. Lenin teaches that economics is the most interesting politics, and that politics is a concretized expression of economics.

During the last 10 years, the republic's economic potential has doubled, its national income has doubled, its gross national product has increased by 1.9 times, industrial production by 1.9 times, and agricultural production by 1.6 times; on the basis of socialist integration and production cooperation and concentration, a powerful agro-industrial complex has been created; and capital investments in the economy have increased by 1.8 times.

The Food Program and the program for the production of consumer goods are being carried out successfully.

Soviet Georgia has been fulfilling its international duty to develop and strengthen our All-Union economic complex with honor; during the last 10 years, the republic's share in the production of USSR national income has increased from 1.3 percent to 1.7 percent. During this same period, the growth rate for public labor productivity reached 80 percent in the republic, while the growth rate for wages was 38.4 percent.

These are some facts and figures describing Georgia's rapid economic development during the last decade.

It is entirely natural and logical that the workers of the autonomous formations which are a part of the Georgian SSR--the Abkhaz ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR, and the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast--have also been celebrating our glorious anniversary of the historic manifesto of the friendship of peoples with great successes.

The autonomous formations account for a substantial share of every indicator of the republic's economic and cultural progress.

The 200th anniversary of the Georgiyevsk Treaty is being fittingly commemorated by all of the regions and economic areas of the republic, and by every city and village; the same can be said for the representatives of all of our nations and nationalities--Georgians and Russians, Abkhaz and Armenians, Ossets and Azerbaijanis, Ukrainians and Belorussians, Estonians, Greeks, Jews, Kurds, and Assyrians--representatives of the more than 80 nations and nationalities which inhabit our republic.

On their behalf and in their name, we are happy today, as we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Georgiyevsk Treaty, to salute Great Russia--the Russia of Lenin, the Russia of Pushkin and Belinskiy, Chernyshevskiy and Dobrolyubov, Hertzen and Plekhanov, Tolstoy and Gor'kiy, Mayakovskiy, Lomonosov, and Tsiolkovskiy and Gagarin!

The Russian people have played an enormous role in resolving the historic destiny not only of Georgians but of all the Soviet peoples. This is why by rights the first word of gratitude belongs to the first among equals--the Great Russian people.

Much has been said about the Russian people by philosophers, historians, psychologists, sociologists, writers and artists from all over the world. The genius of the Russian people is inexhaustible.

We have repeatedly said and will now say again that in that historic year of 1783 when the Georgiyevsk Treaty was concluded, the Russian and Georgian peoples were bound together not only by a single faith.

The Georgian people have for centuries found attractive in their great northern neighbor--the Russian people--the international nature of their soul, their selflessness, love for their homeland, heroism, patriotism, legendary military bravery, their sharp wit, their freedom-loving spirit forged in battles with hordes of foreign invaders, their staunch character, hatred for enslavers and humanism, and their selfless struggle for the liberation of the enslaved and for truth and justice. The Russian character is as broad and limitless as Russian itself is boundless. The nature of the Russian is as rich and inexhaustible as the interior of the Russian earth. This is what was attractive in the Russian people for the Georgian society at the time of the Georgiyevsk Treaty.

We Georgians, like all the Soviet peoples, are happy that historic fate has bound us to this great nation. The great Russian people which have for all eternity put together an indestructible union of free republics, continue under the same banner of the Leninist friendship of peoples to move along an untrodden road of history toward the bright future of mankind--communism.

The Georgian people's feeling of gratitude toward the people of Russia and to Mother Moscow--the heart of our homeland--is boundless.

Moscow played a very great role in strengthening the fraternity and friendship of Russia and Georgia. "In the city of Moscow we waited for the sun"--wrote a Georgian poet in the 18th century, long before the signing of the Georgiyeusk Treaty. These words express the attitude of our entire people toward Moscow and toward Russia.

"Moscow, the Kremlin: To Lenin! To Stalin!"--these are the first words of the historic telegram from Sergo Ordzhonikidze containing the report of the victory for Soviet power in Georgia. After receiving this telegram, the great leader of the revolution, Lenin, publicly announced at a meeting of the Moscow City Soviet that Soviet power had been victorious in Georgia. Moscow is the standard-bearer of peace, progress, socialism, and internationalism on our planet. The Kremlin chimes are the chimes of history, which are listened to by all progressive mankind.

The USSR Academy of Sciences is the temple of world science, and Moscow State University imeni Lomonosov, Moscow's higher educational institutions, and the capital's industrial and cultural centers have played a large role in the economic and cultural development and the training of highly skilled cadres for the Georgian SSR and for all of its autonomous formations and all of the nationalities--Georgians, Abkhaz, Ossets, Armenians, Azerbaijanis and so forth--which inhabit the republic.

Moscow is the site of such historic monuments and places so dear to the hearts of the Georgian people as the Vsesvyatskoye and Donskoy Monastery, Bol'shaya and Malaya Gruzinskaya Streets, Krasnaya Presnya....

Moscow acquaints the world with the masterpieces of Georgian culture, science, literature, and art.

Every Georgian and every Soviet person looks to Moscow with hope, love, and devotion. In Moscow, in connection with the anniversary of the Georgiyeusk Treaty, a remarkable monument devoted to the age-old friendship of the Russian and Georgian peoples has been unveiled on Bol'shaya Gruzinskaya with the help and assistance of the Moscow party gorkom.

A monument to Shota Rustaveli has been erected in Moscow.

We call Moscow our capital, our mother city. And this says it all.

A special place in the hearts of every Soviet person is occupied by Leningrad, the cradle of the three Russian revolutions, the city from which the legendary "Avrora" announced the victory of Great October to the world and the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind.

St. Petersburg was the window from which Europe was opened up not only to Russia, but also to Georgia. Even before the conclusion of the Georgiyeusk Treaty, Peter the Great had Georgians at his side, who accompanied him during his journeys in Europe. It would be difficult to enumerate the services performed by St. Petersburg-Petrograd-Leningrad in the training of Georgian public figures,

scientists and writers, and specialists. St. Petersburg nurtured the leading Georgian figures of the 1930's, the shestidesyatniki--the "tergdaleulni"--the prominent Georgian writers and public figures of the 19th century, Aleksandr Chavchavadze, Solomon Dodashvili, Il'ya Chachavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Niko Nikoladze, one of the founders of Tbilisi University, Ivane Dzhavakhishvili, the first president of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, Niko Muskhelishvili and many other outstanding sons of our fatherland.

Leningrad's role in strengthening the friendship of Russians and Georgians has been great.

The heroic work of the Georgian revolutionaries of the Lenin pleiade is connected with Leningrad.

Russia is great, its history is majestic and its services to all the peoples of our planet are great.

## I.

In the life of every people there are events which constitute turning points in its history and lead it toward the future along paths which are new for it. The Georgiyeusk Treaty of 1783 was such an event in the life of the Georgian people.

Since that time, two socioeconomic formations have replaced one another in Georgia and Russia. Feudalism and capitalism have become a matter of history, and victory has gone to socialism--the first phase of communism--the most progressive socioeconomic formation in the history of mankind. And the historic significance of the linkage with Russia has proven to be permanent. Chiefly because the fraternity and friendship of peoples are internal values, that ideal by which all progressive mankind and all people of good will live.

Two hundred years ago, in 1783, in present-day Stavropol Kray in the Northern Caucasus, a treaty was concluded at the Georgiyeusk Fortress on the admission of Eastern Georgia, particularly, the Kartli-Kakheti Kingdom into the protection of Russia. It should be noted here that the workers of Stavropol Kray, under the leadership of the kray party organization, cherish everything connected with this historic fact as a great treasure.

For two centuries now this international treaty and important monument of international policy and international law has been exerting a beneficial influence on the historical destiny of Georgia and of the Georgian people, as well as all the other peoples living in Georgia.

The Georgiyeusk Treaty laid an eternal foundation of friendship and fraternity between the Georgian and Russian peoples.

Georgia's progressive political leaders were patriots who had been thoroughly shaped and tempered in continuous wars against domestic and foreign enemies. They had an especially good knowledge of Persia, Turkey, Afghanistan, India, and the cultures of the Eastern peoples.

They also had a good understanding of European politics. Georgian kings repeatedly had embassies in Rome, in France, Spain and other European countries.

On the basis of their profound knowledge of history and of the political and social processes which were taking place in Georgia at that time, and on the basis of an analysis of the surrounding world, Georgia's leaders foresaw the future of their country.

The gift of foresight is the lot of the talented. It may be said that the decision by our forefathers to adopt an orientation toward Russia is a brilliant example of far-sightedness.

History and the present day pose the question as follows: What would have been the lot of the Georgian people if they had not tied their fate to Russia? There is only one answer: complete assimilation, national degeneration, and national catastrophe. Only the linkage with Russia saved the Georgian people from physical and spiritual extermination, and brought it out onto the high road of world civilization.

It is here, first of all, that we have the historic significance of the Georgiyeusk Treaty.

If Peter I, metaphorically speaking, cut a window for Russia into Europe, then with the Georgiyeusk Treaty Irakli II built a road for Georgia into Europe, making the Daryal Pass a gate leading into Russia and Europe.

If Georgia had chosen a different orientation, even if it had saved itself from a barbaric assimilation,--and this is only assumable in theory,--today it would be at least an entire epoch behind world social progress.

This is confirmed by the history of its neighboring countries, and by the fate of the Georgians, Abkhaz and other peoples of the Caucasus who live outside of our country and are being intensely subjected to assimilation.

History itself has provided the answer for those who doubted the correctness of the road to the future which was chosen by Irakli II. The road of national salvation and progress passed only through Russia.

Today, in celebrating the 200th anniversary of the Georgiyeusk Treaty, we are marking not only the anniversary of the linking of the czarist dynasties of Bagration and the Romanovs, but the anniversary of the linking of the Georgian and Russian peoples and the establishment of their military alliance against foreign invaders, the anniversary of their joint struggle for social and national freedom, and of the historical salvation of the Georgian people from national catastrophe.

The Georgiyeusk Treaty created a relationship of closeness and kinship between the two peoples, and bound them together with a common historical fate. This is the most important thing.

We Marxist-Leninists look upon historical events, historical figures, and the



development of history from the positions of Marxist methodology, from class, scientific positions. We evaluate events in historic perspective, according to their social results.

V. I. Lenin teaches: "...what is most important is to approach...the question from a scientific point of view; this means not to forget the basic historical connection, to look at every question from the point of view of how a certain phenomenon arose in history and what chief stages this phenomenon in its development passed through, and from the point of view of this, its development, to see what the particular thing has become now." This Leninist methodological principle, this dialectical approach is obligatory for Marxists with respect to any object or subject which needs to be known. It is precisely for this reason that this Leninist thesis is for us the point of departure in considering the Georgiyevsk Treaty in historical retrospect. It is precisely for this reason that we have to consider how this phenomenon arose, what chief stages it passed through in its development and what it represents from the point of view of the present day, when we examine its historical significance.

We have to proceed from who we were in 1783 and who we have become today in 1983. What was positive and what was negative in our history during these two centuries, what stages have we passed through, and what kind of prospects are being mapped out for us? If we look at historical events from this position we will clearly see the great benefits which were given to us by the Treaty of 1783.

The problem of historical orientation, and especially the making of the correct choice, is always connected with a philosophical interpretation of the question and with the adoption of a correct political decision. The science of history has a great role in the education of today's man, in the formation of his internationalist and patriotic views of the world and in strengthening the friendship of peoples. History has left us an enormous heritage from which we have to take everything progressive that elevates and unites us. Idealization of the historical past is impermissible, just as its underestimation is impermissible.

We must in every way increase the role of the science of history in the communist education of the younger generation and of the toiling masses.

To the honor of our great ancestors we have to say that in 1783 they adopted the only correct decision--and Russia and Georgia reached out a hand of friendship to one another. This event must be especially emphasized since it did not occur painlessly or without struggle.

In Georgia there were supporters of an orientation directly toward Europe. Let us recall, if nothing else, the embassy in Europe of Sulkhan-Sava Orbeliani, who has been called the father of Georgia, and let us recall the actions of the first printer of a Georgian book in Rome, Nikifor Irbakh (Cholokashvili); and the attempts of the Vatican to spread Catholicism to Georgia in order to strengthen its European political orientation, the activities of Arkangelo Lamberti and of other missionaries, and a large number of other historical facts.

The search for a European way to the political solution of the Georgian question proved to be fruitless.

The realization of the orientation toward Russia was hindered by a large complex of domestic and foreign factors.

The growing alliance with Russia gave rise to constant threats from the Shah of Iran and the Sultan of Turkey. If nothing else, let us recall the well-known threatening letter written in the Georgian language by Persian Shah Aga Mohammed Khan to Irakli II--do not conclude, he said, an alliance with Russia. Let us recall the tragic outcome of the Krtsanisskaya Battle of 1795 which was practically a punitive military expedition undertaken by Aga Mohammed Khan in order to ruin and devastate Georgia in revenge for the conclusion of the Georgiyevsk Treaty.

Despite the intense ideological and political struggle and the bloody wars, the aspiration of the Georgian people for fraternity with Russia proved to be insurmountable. No power was able to stop it. It was this historical tendency which was victorious.

Georgia obtained fraternity and friendship with Russia not only by means of its good will, but also at the cost of blood. For this reason both this fraternity and friendship as well as the blood which was spilled for it is sacred for us. The blood which was shed by Russian soldiers and by the Russian people to save and protect Georgia from foreign conquerors is sacred. A grateful Georgian people will never forget this self-sacrifice and support.

A scientific evaluation of the historical path which has been traversed by Georgia since the day it came under the protection of Russia has been provided by the classics of Marxism, by outstanding leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet state, and in the works of Russian and Georgian Soviet historians, philosophers, sociologists, and social scientists; it has been reflected in immortal masterpieces of literature and art: this historic act has been evaluated by them as a positive phenomenon, and as the only way out of the existing situation.

As F. Engels correctly commented, despite the reactionary essence of czarism, Russia played a progressive role with respect to the East.

The history of Georgia is so rich that it would be difficult to fully describe it not just in a single report, but in a multi-volume academic publication. Nevertheless, a few words about its great past.

The Georgian people are a people of one of the most ancient civilizations appearing in the historical arena before our era. More than 3000 years ago our ancestors discovered the secret of obtaining iron and steel. In the second century a monument to the Georgian king was erected in the capital of the Roman Empire--for his military art. As early as the first centuries of our era Christians appeared in Georgia, and beginning with the 4th century it became a country of Christian culture. Examples of Georgian writings have come down to us, which were written 1500 years ago. The first Georgian book which has

come down to us was written 15 centuries ago; in the 5th century Petr Iver wrote philosophical works of world significance, and in the 12th century the Georgian poet and thinker of genius, Shota Rustaveli, created a brilliant work of the Eastern Renaissance--the poem "The Man in the Panther Skin."

Georgia was written about by Herodotus, the father of history. Information by Roman and Greek historians alone about Georgia and the Georgian people comprised dozens of volumes.

As early as the 4th century the enlightened world knew about the Fazisskaya Academy, and later the Ikaltoyskaya and Gelati Academies, centers of Georgian culture in Palestine, Byzantium, Greece, and so forth. Let us recall the Academy of Petritsoni where the great Georgian philosopher Ioane Petritsi created his works.

Many achievements of ancient Georgian literature, architecture, gold-working, painting, music, and theater belong among the masterpieces of world culture and among the artistic thought of mankind.

Classical mythology, particularly the world-renowned legends of the argonauts and the golden fleece, and countless historical texts and other sources have preserved information about the existence of Georgian state formations. Such names as Ayyet, Gubaz, Vakhtang, Gorgasali, David the Builder, Queen Tamar, Tsotne Dadiani, Georgi the Brilliant, Georgi Saakadze, Irakli II, and many others have gone down in world history. The struggle of the Georgian people against foreign invaders, the liberation of Tbilisi, the Didgorskaya War, the Martkopskaya and Marabdiyskaya Battles, and other events comprise heroic pages of world history.

The State Anthem of the Georgian SSR states absolutely correctly that your mind, your sword and your valor have shown forth since time immemorial. But in that case, what was the reason for the decline of the once powerful and rich Georgian state? What destructive forces of history, and what cause-and-effect pattern placed the Georgian people and state under the threat of destruction?

Throughout the centuries Georgia and the Transcaucasus had been subjected to invasions by the Romans and Byzantines, the Persians and Arabs, the Mongolian Tatars and Turks, and the hordes of Murvan-Glukhoy and Tamerlaine, Dzhedal-Eddin and Shakh-Abbas, and other enslavers who destroyed with fire and sword much that was subsequently created with blood and brush and chisel, century after century, by the Georgian people.

Nevertheless, Georgia and the Georgian people endured. And they not only endured. What is most important is that the Georgians "endured as a nation!"--wrote Galaktion Tabidze.

The spirit, character and will of the Georgian people were formed during thousands of years of wars for the freedom of their fatherland, and were tempered by the sword and the pen and by labor and talent and enriched over the centuries by economic, military, and cultural relationships with other peoples.

Those qualities which were noted throughout the centuries by the world's historians and chroniclers, everything that since ancient times was beautiful and elevated in our people--their industriousness, their native talents of friendship and fraternity, their great intellect, their heroic freedom-loving spirit, which was forged in thousands of years of battles for our homeland, their unbending will, their selfless love for their fatherland, and their native language and for the permanent values of the historical past and our national culture, their optimism, and their unshakeable faith in the future--today all of these features, which have become deeply rooted and merged together in our people's Soviet character, are serving a single great and sacred cause--the cause of strengthening fraternity and friendship, patriotism and internationalism, the cause of the October Revolution, the cause of Marxism-Leninism.

History has never been a simple phenomenon, and especially the history of Georgia of the last two centuries: these were an extremely difficult and complicated 200 years, full of storms and dramatic collisions, class battles, a revolutionary upheaval, and the heroics of construction.

Nor was the history that preceded the past two centuries easy.

We know that the friendship of the Russian and Georgian peoples traces its roots far back into the ages. As early as the 11th and 12th centuries fruitful political and cultural relations were established between Kievan Rus' and Georgia. At that time the heir of the prince of Suzdal appears on the Georgian political scene, and the great prince of Kievan Rus' marries the daughter of the Georgian king. The Novgorod cathedral and a large number of other cathedrals in Russia at that time were decorated by the creations of the Georgian artists and mosaicists. In ancient Russian literature Queen Tamar is celebrated under the name of Dinara.

Judging from certain historical documents, it was almost 500 years ago that the foundations were laid for intensive diplomatic relations between Russia and Georgia. The diplomatic actions aimed at the establishment and strengthening of friendly relations between Russia and Georgia were participated in on the part of Russia by Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, and other historical leaders, and on the Georgian side by Aleksandr, King Kakheti, Teymuraz, Archilo, Vakhtang VI, Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, and other historical personages.

However, only in the 18th century, during the reign of Irakli II, did it become possible to conclude a treaty of friendship between Russia and Georgia.

What brought this about?

We know that the Georgiyevsk Treaty, which was drawn up in accordance with the norms of international law, signified the entry of the Kartli-Kakheti Kingdom, or Eastern Georgia, under the protection of Russia. Obviously, this act was motivated by certain interests on both sides.

In what respects would the interests of Russia and Georgia coincide?

Beginning with the 16th century Russia played the role of a great power in the international arena. It actively fought against the aggression of the Osman Empire and the Crimean Khanate, which was directed not only against the Russian state itself but also against Eastern Europe as a whole. This is why the peoples who were struggling against the aggression of the Osmans were the natural allies of Russia.

Historically, Georgia struggled against the dominion of the Osman Empire and of Iran, and for this reason the Caucasus as a whole, particularly Georgia, occupied a special place in the intricate labyrinth of Russo-Iranian relations. Iran, like the Osman Empire, did not wish to accept Russia's growing role and influence in the East.

Georgia and the Transcaucasus were for Russia a real tangle of extremely complex political problems, on the one hand. On the other, Georgia represented the same kind of tangle of difficult conflicts for the Shah of Iran and the Osman Empire.

Consequently, Russia and Georgia were natural allies in the struggle against the common enemy.

Russia would not be able to curb the aggressors without creating a base for itself in order to establish itself, first in the Northern Caucasus and then in the Transcaucasus, which it intended to do by taking the Georgian state under its protection.

In the foreign policy of the Russian state the question of Georgia was directly linked with its policy in the Near and Middle East, and with its relations with the Osman Empire and Iran.

And so, from the 16th to the 18th century, the existence of Georgian kingdoms and their selfless struggle against the aggression of the Osman Empire and Iran was in all respects desirable and advantageous for the government of Russia.

There is no question, of course, that czarism acted in Georgia and the Transcaucasus first of all in its own interests, but objectively these interests coincided with the efforts of the Georgian people to break out of the closed circle of medieval backwardness of its surrounding world and join the region of Russia and Europe.

The fact that Russia became acquainted with Georgia long before the conclusion of the Georgiyevsk Treaty can be regarded as a highly important one in the establishment of Russian-Georgian relations. The heroic past and tragic present of the small Georgian nation were known not only at the czar's Court. It was well understood in Russia that Georgia was one of the important centers of ancient Christian culture. The entire informed Russian public began to talk about Georgia. The desire to reach out a helping hand to this co-religionist people of high culture and tragic destiny grew stronger by the day among the Russian public of that time. The Russian people had themselves experienced all of the burdens of centuries of oppression by foreign conquerors. By their nature a humane, just and freedom-loving people, young and full of strength, they regarded it as their duty to reach out a helping hand to a people surrounded by numerous and terrible enemies and faced with national catastrophe.

This noble aspiration, which existed for 200 years preceding the Treaty, developed into quite a powerful current of public thought and became, one could say, a tradition.

As for Georgian kingdoms themselves, their relations with Russia, the conclusion of a military and political alliance with it, and their acceptance under its protection were recognized from the very beginning as a vitally important task and a means of salvation from the shah's Iran and the Osman Empire, and from the constant raids which they incited their feudal mountain vassals to carry out.

The tragic fate of Georgia consists precisely in the fact that by the end of the 15th century the single and powerful Georgian state had disintegrated into individual kingdoms and principalities.

This was the result above all of an extremely complex and unfavorable domestic and foreign situation.

What were the concrete circumstances that brought about the breaking up of Georgia? On the one hand, there were internal conflicts and the constant betrayals and treachery of the feudal lords and princes, as a result of which all of Georgia was bathed in blood.

On the other hand, there were constant incursions by foreign invaders and devastating wars. One conqueror was replaced by another, and then another... They divided the country up among themselves, plundered it, ravaged it, and spread desolation all about.

First the invasion by the Mongols and the terrible yoke of their dominion, then the devastating raids by Tamerlane, and, finally, the aggression of the Osman Empire and Safavid Iran promoted the development of centrifugal forces in the Georgian feudal society and the incitement of inter-feudal strife, which resulted in the political disintegration of Georgia into individual kingdoms and principalities.

Despite this, however, the struggle did not cease in Georgia to overcome the intra-feudal civil wars, to halt the centrifugal tendencies, to unite the country and curb foreign enemies, and to create the conditions necessary for further progressive development.

The Osman Empire (which, according to K. Marx, was at the stage of "barbaric feudalism") and the shah's Iran, which were fighting against Georgia, were clearly behind Georgia in their level of socioeconomic development. By defending its independence, Georgia was thereby defending its progressive future and defending itself against Eastern backwardness.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that the Georgian people never identified the shah's Iran with the Iranian people, or the sultan's Turkey with the Turkish people.. The Georgian people were always respectful toward the ancient culture of the Iranian people. The same can be said about the past and present of the Turkish people.

As for the raids by the mountain feudal lords, they did not express the will of their people. Behind them stood the shah, the sultan, and the reactionary clergy. In the history of relations between Georgia and the peoples of the Northern Caucasus there are many moving pages about the joint struggle of the peoples against foreign invaders, about good-neighbor relations, and about alliances of kinship between peoples. Today's generations of fraternal socialist peoples carefully preserve the memory of what brought us together and made us kindred in the past.

Only a unified Georgia was capable of opposing the oppressor--this was well understood by the progressive people of that time. Georgia's enemies also understood it: the unity of Georgia would mean its loss to them. That is why they sought to achieve what they were after by force or diplomatic ruses and intrigues, by setting brother against brother, with raids, and with bloody repression.

The progressive forces of the Georgian feudal society were moved by national self-awareness and by an understanding of the necessity for the rebirth of a single Georgia. However, Georgia was not able to accomplish all of these difficult tasks at one time by itself. It was in need of the kind of powerful ally which could help it defuse a charged external situation, curb its enemies, and suppress the reactionary forces which were acting within the country.

One of the most talented military and political leaders of historical time was Giorgi Saakadze the artistic description of whose tragic biography was the life work of talented Russian writer Anna Antonovskaya. How monumentally the great (mouravi) battled, and what great efforts he made to gain the confidence of even his people's worst enemy and with his hands and his help, to achieve the unity of Georgia! Unity or death!--this was the firm resolve of the doomed military leader. But he was unable to unite Georgia and he tragically lived out his life in a foreign land, wrongfully rejected as a traitor.

Another path to self-preservation was also doomed to fail.

We know that conflicts reigned in the country of Georgia's enemies. Centuries of diplomatic struggle and maneuvering had saved the Georgian people from physical extermination more than once. Georgia's history contains many examples of even slight disagreements in the enemy camp being skilfully exploited by Georgian statesmen. By the end of the 17th century, however, even this method of struggle proved to be unproductive.

Georgia's progressive-minded leaders sensed the catastrophic situation well and constantly attempted to find an outside force which would help them curb the proponents of assimilation and compensate for their own internal weakness.

Only the Russian state could act as such an external force for Georgia.

It was precisely for this reason that during the period from the 16th to the 18th century all Georgian statesmen advocated a policy of orientation toward Russia in their attempts to liberate the country from the yoke of the shah's Iran and the Osman empire, acting with the hope of concluding a military and political alliance with Russia. Despite numerous obstacles, the orientation toward Russia grew stronger by the day and was increasingly accepted in Georgia by the broad masses of the society.

Mutual relations with Russia also gradually developed in other areas in addition to policy. Naturally, they developed first of all in the spiritual life and embraced many fields of science. In the 18th century Russo-Georgian relations in the area of science and culture had achieved a level providing fertile soil for mutual enrichment. I should mention the functioning of Georgian colonies which formed centers of Georgian culture in Moscow (at Vsesvyatskoye and on Presnya), in Petersburg and the Ukraine, and others; the activities of Archilo, Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, David Guramishvili, Vakhushti Bagrationi in Russia and in the Ukraine.

Russo-Georgian relations also developed in economic life, particularly in trade.

Russia at that time, with its political, social and economic structures, was far closer to Georgia and the Georgian feudal system than any other nation with interests in the Caucasus and in Georgia. It did not threaten the Georgian people with extermination. On the contrary, it advocated Georgia's defense in the struggle against the foreign promoters of assimilation.

And so, Russo-Georgian relations in the 16th-18th centuries developed increasingly on the basis of corresponding interests, and their basic feature--a desire to conclude a military and political alliance--became clearly defined. The concept of having the Georgian kingdoms and principalities, as relatively weak states, taken under the protection of the powerful Russian state, was also developed as these relations advanced. In short, the course of political orientation toward Russia became a tradition and became established in the minds of the people. Irakli II, unquestionably an outstanding historical figure and an outstanding statesman of his time, supported this course equally firmly.

Marxism-Leninism regards statesmen of the past from class, scientific standpoints. A king is still a king, of course, a feudal lord is still a feudal lord and an oppressor is still an oppressor. This approach promotes objectivity and fairness and involves analyzing the specific political, social and economic features of the era in which the given figure lived.

The thorough and intelligent use of scientific criteria, objectivity, fairness and a certain magnanimity, but always the class approach, with respect to evaluating historical figures has a significant role in the shaping of the principles on the basis of which every civilized person, especially the youth, views the world. This is the principle we must use in assessing the personality of Irakli II. The immortal Nikoloz Baratashvili called Irakli a wise politician.

In his poem "The Grave of King Irakli," written in 1842, the poet says:



"Your pre-death prediction  
For our orphaned nation,  
How true it proved to be.  
The fruits of your thoughts  
Are ripening in season,  
Your behests a reality."

In Irakli's time, the era of collapse of feudal relations, unlike the era of Georgi Saakadze, the internal forces advocating restoration of the nation's unity had already matured in Georgia, but they were suppressed by aggression from outside. The powerful, co-religionist, northern neighbor, which was building up its strength and whose interests in the Caspian and Black Seas coincided with Georgia's interests, provided a solid guarantee of its salvation and rebirth.

In the 1780s Russia's government was taking new steps to strengthen its position in the northern Black Sea area and in the Caucasus. It decided to satisfy the wish of the Georgians and of Irakli II that the Kartli-Kakheti kingdom be taken under Russia's protection.

On 24 July 1783, as I have already mentioned, such an agreement was signed in the North Caucasus, at the Georgiyevsk Fortress.

In addition, the Treaty of Georgiyevsk called for the liberation of Southern Georgia, which had been seized by the Osmons, and its reunification with the motherland.

Czarism's attitude toward Georgia had changed by the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th.

Following Irakli's death Kartli-Kakheti was gripped by an internal political crisis. The imperial court decided to actually annex Kartli-Kakheti, and this was done in 1801. The kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti became a part of the Russian state.

It was then the turn of Western Georgia's political formations, which came under Russia's protection one after another. Russia's annexation of Imereti, Guria, Megrelia and Svaneti had been completed by the 1860s. Abkhazia became a part of Russia in 1864. This process took 6 decades full of tragedy and trials.

The forms of government in effect throughout the Russian empire moved into Georgia.

Naturally, these kingdoms and principalities lost their feudal statehood and became a part of the Russian empire.

It would be naive to think that czarism was concerned only with the Georgian people's well-being. Czarism would not have been czarism without pursuing a colonial policy. Czarism's policy is one thing, though, and the objective result of Georgia's annexation to Russia, the progressive consequences for the Georgian people and all the peoples of the Transcaucasus are another.

The Georgian people never identified czarism with the Russian people. Czarism itself was in antagonistic conflict with its people. Lenin's statement that there are actually two nations in any bourgeois nation provides us with a valid Marxist, scientific and political reference point for defining history's main direction and its progressive trends.

It was the Russian people and not czarism at all, which were the makers of history. This is why the main factor in relationships between the Russian and Georgian states was not the creation of the alliance between the czarist dynasties but what accompanied this action--the development of friendship and kinship between the Russian and Georgian peoples, the trend toward the establishment of ties between the Georgian people and all the other peoples of the Russian state. This was ultimately of enormous historical importance. It was precisely this trend--the rapprochement of the peoples--and not the vassal alliance between czarism and ruling feudal circles, which brought about the creation of a fraternal family of peoples out of the wreckage of the czarist empire.

This is the chief and basic thing. The only way for Georgia to become united was for it to become a part of the Russian state, even though this meant the loss of statehood for individual kingdoms and principalities.

One of the most important effects of the signing of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, as we have already stated, was the liberation of parts of Georgia which had been seized by the enemy and Georgia's restoration within its historical boundaries.

As a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 Adzharia, which had languished under the yoke of the Osman empire for 3 centuries, was returned to the motherland, Georgia. To commemorate this important historical event a monument was erected in Batumi during preparations in Adzharia for the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk.

The ancient Georgian cities of Poti, Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkaliki, as well as 10 areas in the ancient province of Samtskhe-Saatabago--Akhaltsikhskiy, Akhalkalakskiy, Aspindzskiy, Atskurskiy, Khertviskiy, Kvablianskiy, Abastumanskiy, Chacharakskiy, Potskhovskiy and Childirskiy areas--were liberated from Turkish domination as a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-1829. This was a great historical victory for the Georgians.

We recently commemorated the 155th anniversary of the liberation of Akhaltsikhe.

If the 1783 Treaty of Georgiyevsk had produced no other positive results, this alone would have been quite enough for the Georgian people to always recall with a sense of great gratitude our far-sighted ancestors, who linked the destiny of the Georgian people with the historical destiny of the Russian people.

It was precisely our friendship with the Russian people which made it possible to restore Georgia's historical boundaries, to regain Georgian land seized by our enemies, to unite the separate kingdoms and principalities and to achieve national consolidation. This was a progressive development of enormous importance.

Georgia's affiliation with Russia was the result of a long and complex historical process. The year 1783, the year in which the Treaty of Georgiyevsk was concluded, placing Eastern Georgia under Russia's protection, should be regarded as the initial stage, and 1878, the year in which Adzharia was liberated from the Osman yoke, thereby actually completing the process by which all of Georgia became a Russian state, was the concluding year.

The concept of national self-determination was alien to Russian czarism, of course. Czarism, as V.I. Lenin pointed out, was a prison of peoples.

Despite the colonial policy of Russian czarism, however, Georgia's affiliation with Russia was objectively of great progressive importance in the overall, specific historical situation which had developed in Georgia and in the Transcaucasus. It was obvious that toward the end of the 18th century the Georgian state was no longer capable of existing independently.

Because of the constant devastating raids of foreign invaders and oppressors the Georgian people, like the Abkhaz and Ossets and other peoples, were actually threatened with physical and spiritual destruction.

From the very beginning progressive Georgian public figures regarded Georgia's affiliation with Russia as the only correct way to save the Georgian people and to assure their continued prosperity. This thought was clearly expressed by Nikoloz Baratashvili, Ilya Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli, Niko Nikoladze, Yakob Gogebashvili and other great patriots of Georgia.

The chief progressive result of Georgia's affiliation with Russia was the fact that the Georgian people were thereby able to accomplish their main task, that of uniting the disunited nation into a single organism. That for which the Georgian people had struggled selflessly for 3 centuries and which they were unable to achieve by themselves, was accomplished by joining Russia.

Despite the loss of their own statehood, the uniting of most of the Georgian land and the Georgian people into a single organism was an event of great historical importance, which contributed a great deal to the people's national consolidation.

Georgia's union with Russia predetermined the development of new conditions of life, which resolved a number of social development problems. This is adequately demonstrated by the fact that the internal feudal wars and strife and the endless internecine warfare ended, and essential peaceful conditions were established, which contributed to the rapid development of economic life.

These "peaceful conditions" should certainly not be interpreted as some sort of ideal world. The Georgian people had to take an active part in the Russo-Iranian wars of 1804-1813 and 1826-1828 and the Russo-Turkish wars of 1806-1812, 1828-1829, 1853-1856 and 1877-1878, in the course of which they made a worthy contribution to the achievement of ultimate victory over the common enemies. Georgians also participated in Russia's Patriotic War of 1812. I would mention just the battle at Borodino and the feat of Petr Bagrationi, immortalized by the genius of Leo Tolstoy in his epic novel "War and Peace"!

Petr Bagrationi's military leadership became a part of the treasure of military art. He was a worthy student and fellow soldier of the great Russian military leaders Suvorov and Kutuzov. In the near future Georgia's workers will erect a monument to their outstanding compatriots in Tbilisi, the republic capital.

Other Georgian military men wrote some heroic pages in the great epic of the Patriotic War of 1812. Twelve Georgian generals protected the independence of Russian land. The names of Generals Bagrationi, Yashvili, Panchulidze, Dzhavakhishvili and others are surrounded by combat glory. The son of Garsevan Chavchavadze, famous Georgian poet and general, Alexander Chavchavadze, entered Paris together with Barclay de Tolly.

The combat unity of the Georgian and Russian peoples was tempered in the struggle against common enemies. It was also tempered in the class struggle.

The 2 centuries following conclusion of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk were centuries of peace in the sense that the armies of the shah and sultan were no longer able to ravage Georgia as they had in the past. With respect to the class battles, they never ceased.

The description of class warfare presented in the "Communist Party Manifesto" of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels--"The free man and the slave, the patrician and the plebeian, the land-owner and the serf, the master and the apprentice, the oppressed and the oppressor have always been in a state of endless antagonism with each other and have engaged in a continuous struggle, sometimes covertly and sometimes openly, which always ended in the revolutionary restructuring of the entire social system or with the common destruction of the struggling classes"--is the universal description of class struggle. With its scientific precision and clarity it conforms to the historical picture of political, class battles in Russia and Georgia prior to the October Revolution.

For centuries serfdom and all its cruelty had also reigned in Georgia. The yoke of outside enemies intensified the social oppression. The people's life was unbearable. They were subjected to social and national oppression and the oppression of foreign invaders, to the cruelties of an assimilation policy. I would mention how Shah Abbas drove hundreds of thousands of Georgians out of Georgia into Iran. This was just part of an evil plan for the Georgian people's physical destruction. Their descendents still live in (Fereydan). The return to Georgia of a small group of (Fereydan) Georgians several years ago was an exciting event. It was accomplished with the assistance of the Soviet government. And history contains many such examples. If not for the kinship with Russia, the fate of the (Fereydan) people would have awaited every Georgian.

The class struggle and class antagonism had one distinguishing feature over the centuries. The threat of raids, invasions, incursions and destruction by outside enemies was such a permanent and daily thing that both the dominant and the exploited classes frequently forgot their internal concerns and bared their swords against external enemies. The class struggle did not cease, however, neither during the unification with Russia nor later.

The Russian peasantry's revolutionary movement also met with a response in Georgia. I would recall just the peasant disturbances in Imereti and Kakheti in

1802, the uprising in the mountain region of Kartli in 1804, the 1812 uprising in Kakheti, the peasant protests in Imereti and Guria in 1819-1820, the subsequent famous peasant uprising led by Utu Mikava, and others. The Abkhaz and Osetian peasants fought for their social and national rights.

The social and national oppression to which our people were subjected was difficult, but their struggle for a better life did not cease and did not weaken. Compared with the past, however, the nation was unquestionably in a more peaceful state. This is precisely what Ilya Chavchavadze had in mind when he stated in his article "100 Years Ago," published in IVERIA on 26 November 1899 on the occasion of the centennial of the entry into Georgia of Russian troops on 26 November 1799: "Georgia has not seen such a glorious day in a long time. The hearts of everyone, from the small to the great, both men and women, have been filled with the cherished hope that the arrival of Russian troops in Georgia will give it that peace, defense and protection, that happy and tranquil life for which Georgia's sons have struggled heroically and selflessly for centuries, generously soaking every part of our nation with their blood. On that memorable day Georgia acquired peace. The government of a great people sowed eternal fear in our implacable enemies. The tired nation, which had long known no peace, became peaceful and rested from the devastation and destruction, from the endless wars and struggle.

"The terrible glint of the sword held over the nation and over our families by the enemy disappeared, the blazing fires in which the homes and property of our ancestors were destroyed vanished, as did the predatory raids, leaving only terrible memories which turned the heart to ice. A new era set in, a time of peace and safety for drained and tortured Georgia."

The halting of raids by foreign invaders and plunderers and the feudal strife, the elimination of the nation's political and economic division and the establishment of peace and a stable and normal economic life--all of this created the necessary conditions for the rapid development of the nation's productive forces. The rapid increase in the population, the rapid growth of industry, agriculture and trade and the revitalization of urban life which we see in Georgia's history in the 19th century are clear evidence of this.

## II.

Russia was moving inexorably toward capitalism. "In Russia," F. Engels wrote in 1848, "industry is developing with giant steps, and even the boyar is increasingly becoming bourgeois."

The downfall of feudalism and the birth of capitalism was a far more complicated process in Georgia than in Russia, to be sure, since Georgia was economically more backward and more of a peasant nation than czarist Russia. Georgia's economy developed more intensively in the 19th century, in comparison with the 18th, however. Both quantitatively and qualitatively the largest advances in Georgia were made precisely in the area of economics and demography after Georgia linked its destiny with Russia.

During the time of Irakli there was a catastrophic drop in the population of both Western and Eastern Georgia. When the Treaty of Georgiyevsk was concluded there were only 42,000 households and approximately 210,000 people in Kartli and Kakheti,

Tusheti and Pshav-Khevsureti; 4,000 households and 20,000 residents in Tbilisi; 500 households in Gori, 740 in Telavi, and so forth. As a result of numerous invasions Trialeti, Tashiri, Ivrispiri, Sabaratiano and many other places in Georgia were totally abandoned. There was trade in human lives. An individual would kidnap another and sell him for money.

According to the reports of foreign travelers and historians, approximately 10,000-12,000 girls and boys were sold annually in Georgia's Black Sea ports of Batumi, Anakliya, Kulevi and Poti.

We have historical facts on the existence of entire Mameluke armies of Georgian and Caucasian origin in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and other nations, heart-rending accounts of the buying and selling of young Georgians for the slave markets of Constantinopol, Tabriz, Tehran, Genoa, Venice and other cities, and the campaign waged by Irakli II against the trade in human lives.

External enemies and their own feudal lords did not give the peasant, the factory hand or the merchant freedom to breath. Despite the progressive reforms of Irakli II, economics, the foundation of national life, had one foot in the grave. The nation's strength had been undermined.

The productive forces developed rapidly as a result of our union with Russia. The level of economic and social life rose so greatly that the nature of production relations brought about the establishment of a new, capitalist structure.

Such branches of industry as manganese, coal, wine-making, canning and others emerged and began to develop in Georgia in the second half of the 19th century.

Entire regions of industrial viticulture and wine-making, horticulture, tobacco raising and livestock farming came into existence. Their products were exported to Russian and the Transcaucasian regions and to foreign countries through Black Sea ports.

The build-up of a network of roads contributed to the creation and expansion of the domestic market. The construction of railways had a special role in this.

We know that construction of the main rail line for the Transcaucasus was begun in 1867, and in 1872 a railway linked Tbilisi with the city of Poti, the area's main door to the ocean. The Tbilisi-Baku and Samtredia-Batumi lines were officially opened in May of 1883, and the Tkibuli branch line was opened in December of 1887. Construction of the Chiatura narrow-gage line was completed in December of 1893, and the Borzhomi branch line was finished in August of 1894. The Tbilisi-Alexandropol-Kars Railway, the initial 60-kilometer section of which passed through Georgia, began operating in 1899.

By the end of the 19th century the network of railways embraced most of the previously isolated, historical provinces. This was highly important for completing the nation's economic unification and eliminating the remnants of feudal division.

We would point out by way of comparison Iran, which looked upon Georgia as its own private domain and did everything possible to prevent its alignment with

Russia right up to the 1920s, had no railways at all. Construction of the first railway in Iran, the Trans-Iranian Mainline, was not begun until 1928 and did not begin operating until 1938.

Czarism's economic policy in capitalist Georgia was of a clearly defined class nature. And although the class oppression of the workers was unbearable even in Russia's interior guberniyas, in Georgia it was made worse by the colonial status of the area and its lack of national rights.

V.I. Lenin stated that "Russian capitalism was thereby drawing the Caucasus into the world commodity circulation and nullifying its local characteristics--the remnant of ancient patriarchal insularity--and /creating/ itself a market for its factories," that this area was being turned into a "nation of oil-industry workers, wine merchants and processors of wheat and tobacco...."

In Georgia and in its economy, because of those specific features which resulted in its political, state, territorial and social situation, development of the productive forces under both feudalism and capitalism was unable to achieve the highest level generally characteristic of the above socioeconomic formations. The nation's capitalist development did create the conditions necessary for the Georgian people's consolidation, however, and this had the decisive role in its development into a bourgeois nation.

The Georgian people developed into a bourgeois nation in the 19th century as a result of the development of a capitalist socioeconomic structure in Georgia.

There are four main, composite characteristics of a nation: a stable commonality of language, territory, economic life and mentality, the latter being expressed in a commonality of culture.

As a result of the concluding of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk and Georgia's acceptance under Russia's protection, the Georgian people not only did not lose their characteristics as a nation, as our ideological enemies attempt to prove, but, on the contrary, it was precisely after the concluding of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk that the process of its development as a bourgeois nation was completed.

And so, the formation of a bourgeois Georgian nation in the 19th century was one of the most progressive historical results of its kinship with the Russian people.

The semi-colonial path of development which fell to the lot of Georgia's feudal economy and then its capitalist economy in the 19th century was one thing. The economy's switch onto capitalist rails in the 19th century, thereby making it one of the four factors for the formation of a bourgeois nation, is another matter.

Those people are mistaken, who believe that following the concluding of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk and Georgia's affiliation with Russia, its national economy went into a decline. On the contrary, it was precisely the alignment with Russia which laid the foundation for the conversion of the segmented Georgian feudal economy first into a capitalist economy and then ultimately into a socialist one.

The Georgian people's stable economic commonality was finally formed in the second half of the 19th century.

As we commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk we are also commemorating the rescue of the national economy and the stable commonality of economic life.

We have said that territory is one of the defining features of a nation. It was only the alliance with Russia, only the valor of the Russian soldier and the invincibility of Russian weapons, which made it possible for the Georgians to restore Georgia to its historical borders.

The term territory is not an abstract concept, not a neutral concept. Territory means homeland.

As we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, we are celebrating the rescue of Georgia, the restoration of Georgian land to its historical borders!

A native language is also one of the main features of a nation. The Georgian language is one of the most ingenious creations of the Georgian people. Czarism did suppress the languages of the national minorities on the outskirts of the empire, to be sure, but the fact is indisputable that the Russian people always took an internationalist position in this matter. While the Russia of the Romanovs, Guchkovs and Purishkeviches oppressed and suppressed the Georgian language, the Russia of Pushkin, Belinskiy, Chernyshevskiy and Dobrolyubov always defended the languages of the national minorities, including the Georgian language. Following the concluding of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk the attitude toward the Georgian language therefore was not and could not be unequivocal, since, despite czarism's reactionary policy, there also existed a Russian people with their democratic, internationalist and revolutionary traditions. It would therefore be incorrect to say that the Georgian language suffered nothing but repression prior to the revolution. It did suffer repression on the part of czarism, but the Georgian language was protected by the great Russian people, by their best sons and progressive-minded public figures.

Just remember how much the Academy of Sciences of Saint Petersburg, Petersburg University and the Russian Cartvelological school did for the study of the Georgian and Cartvelian languages. Remember the achievements of outstanding scholars of that time in the development of Cartvelology. Remember how the publication of books, magazines and newspapers in the Georgian language increased.

A people is the creator of a language, and it develops and preserves the language. The rebirth of the Georgian language and the creation of immortal works in that language in the 19th century were only possible in the situation of life lived together with the Russian people.

Despite the insinuations of our ideological enemies, it is still a fact that after the Treaty of Georgiyevsk was concluded the Georgian language did not go into a decline. On the contrary, it was reborn, it flourished and underwent unprecedented development.



In the 19th century the leaders of the Georgian national liberation movement the *shestidesyatniki*, or "tergdaleulni," who were also the founders of the new Georgian literature and the new literary language, were educated at Russian universities and were loyal followers of the traditions of Russian revolutionary democracy.

Together with the Georgians the Georgian language was defended by that Russian worker who fought side by side with the Georgian revolutionaries at the barricades of three revolutions against the czarist regime.

This is how both the language and the nation were saved.

This is how trust, respect and love between nations was born.

Lenin taught us that pride in the native language was not alien to the great Russian proletariat. Lenin placed great value on the language of Pushkin, Turgenev, Tolstoy.... Naturally, a member of any nation values his native tongue highly. A Georgian is also proud of the language of Rustaveli, Ilya Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli--their native language; the abkhaz is proud of the Abkhaz language; the Oset is proud of the Osetian language; the Armenian, of the Armenian language; the Azerbaijani, of the Azeri language, and so forth.

A love for and a thorough knowledge of one's native language entails respecting the languages of others as well.

The Georgian people have always placed great value on the Russian language, the ingenious creation of the great Russian people, the language of friendship and fraternity of peoples and of international communication.

The great Georgian pedagogue and public figure and the author of "Granddad Ena" and "The Russian Word," Yakob Gogebashvili, wrote the following: "Our peasants and workers understand that a knowledge of the Russian language... will expand their range of activity and bring them closer with other peoples."

The revolutionary advances and the social and cultural reforms which have taken place in recent decades in the life of our people are to a significant degree linked with the mastery of the Russian language.

Today, while concerning ourselves constantly with the development of our native language, we never forget for a single moment that special mission of the Russian language on our planet, its place in the life of all peoples, including the Georgian people.

And so, love for the native language and an interest in the study of the Russian and other languages supplement each other and give the individual a greater opportunity to acquire the knowledge which mankind has produced. K. Marx stated with complete justification that every new language is a new weapon in the struggle of life.

In recent years the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and the republic's government have passed a number of decrees to further improve the

system for studying the Russian language and the teaching in the schools and higher educational institutions of the Georgian, Abkhaz, Osetian, Armenian and Azeri languages, as well as Greek, Turkish, Arabic and other languages, taking the latest achievements in pedagogical science into account. We know that English, French, German, Spanish, Basque and other languages are studied in Georgia. Only a socialist society can establish this kind of attitude toward languages.

Today, as we commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, we are celebrating the salvation of the Georgian language, its rebirth and unprecedented development. Our great ancestors regarded the Treaty of Georgiyevsk as a precondition for this salvation. History has proved them to be right.

The fraternity with Russia has resulted in the salvation and development of our brothers--the Abkhaz, Osets, Armenians and Azerbaijanis--their languages and cultures.

Not only did the union with Russia not deprive the Georgian nation of its commonality of mentality, national character and national culture, as our ideological enemies attempt to demonstrate, but, on the contrary, its mentality, national character and national culture became even stronger in the fraternity with the Russian people.

Georgia is located at the juncture of two continents--Europe and Asia. This geographic factor has played a significant role in the shaping of our people's material and spiritual treasures. Our national culture was not created in a vacuum. It is the product of a vital historical process. It was influenced by the culture of other peoples, just as Georgian thinking and Georgian culture have represented a significant factor in the development of other cultures.

The beneficial effect of progressive literature and social thought and of the Russian revolutionary-democratic view of life on the development of the national and social concepts and the ethical creed of the Georgian shestidesyatniki is well known.

This is illustrated by a statement by Ilya Chavchavadze.

"Russian literature," he wrote, "has unquestionably had a great guiding influence on our path of development.... There is not a single figure among us today in the field of literature or public life who has not been influenced by Russian literature. And this is not surprising. The Russian school and science opened up the gates of enlightenment for us, and Russian literature nourished and directed our thinking.... Each of us has had to drink from these two springs to quench our spiritual thirst...."

At the same time, it would be a mistake to ignore the fact that the Georgian people, like all the non-Russian peoples, experienced dual oppression--social and national. The intensification of this oppression caused the people to rebel. The peoples rose up against czarism. The non-Russian peoples took part in that struggle together with the Russian people.

The intensification of national oppression naturally intensified the national liberation movement. Progressive Georgian figures launched a struggle against the colonial, Russification policy.

Progressive Russian figures also condemned the colonial policy of czarism. The position taken by Griboyedov, Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoy, Gor'kiy and other brilliant sons of the Russian people is well known. This was not the position of the geniuses alone. In 1887 the book "Ocherki Kavkaza" [Sketches of the Caucasus] by the Russian writer Yevgeniy Markov was published in Petersburg. Ye.L. Markov wrote the following: "We Russians... should not forget that we are not the conquerers of and not the victors over them (the Georgians--E.Sh.), that we are brothers and equals and not harsh lords. We must not forget that the Georgians have entered our family in order to remain as they are.... Everything Georgian, everything the Georgians have acquired in history, all their native treasures and their national characteristics have the right to the same sort of respect and the same sort of support as everything of our own receives. The alliance between the two brothers is a matter of friendly collaboration with each other, of one brother's attachment for the other, and not a matter of sacrificing the individuality of the one to that of the other...."

In October of 1899 Ilya Chavchavadze wrote the following: "Luckily for Russia and for the ethnic groups which are a part of it... there are people in Russia who have correctly understood the real mission of the Russian official in the outlying areas."

While the czarist regime outraged the peoples with its actions, this was offset by the Russia of Pushkin and the Decembrists, Chernyshevskiy and Gor'kiy, which was a center of attraction for them, a land of sincere friendship and great culture.

Akaki Tsereteli stated in 1913: "We greatly value our fraternity, unity and friendship with the peoples of Russia. There are those among the Russians, to be sure, who do not like our fraternal alliance, but there is also a young Russia, with which we want to proceed hand in hand in order to implement not only our national ideals, but general human ideals as well, which are called fraternity, unity and equality."

Nor could we fail to recall today the words of Vissarion Belinskiy: "...It seems that the Caucasus is destined to be the cradle of our poetic talents, the mover and nursemaid of their muse, the motherland of their poetics!". The great Russian critic was referring to the influence which the Caucasus had upon the poetry of Pushkin, Lermontov, Griboyedov.

The following words are those of Nikolay Tikhonov, outstanding Russian poet of our time:

"There are countries which are filled with special significance for other countries. This is not manifested in the field of economics or politics. No, they have a special poetic aura for many succeeding generations.... They exert their influence upon the artists, the writers, the scholars. They attract thousands of travelers. In my opinion, Italy is one of these nations in Europe, nations which are filled with special meaning for the European consciousness. All of the European classical poets have visited Italy. All of them have given it the special gift of their hearts. For the Russian poets Georgia has unquestionably become our Italy."

The unification of Russia proved to be one of the main factors in the continued development of the Georgian culture. It was precisely in the 19th century that Georgia could compare with the culture of the advanced nations of the world in many areas of its spiritual life. In addition to the nature of the era and the earlier traditions of the Georgian culture, this intensity of the forward movement also resulted from the fact that Georgia had broken away from its backward environment and become a part of the common cultural region of Russia and Europe.

The 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk is a celebration of the liberation of the Georgian people's spiritual and material culture, of the nation's cultural unification. For this reason our national holiday is an international triumph.

Czarism divided the peoples with hostility and tyranny, but the Russian people united them with fraternity and friendship. Precisely for this reason, the road of liberation for the Georgian people from social and colonial oppression passed through Russia.

The Georgian people's national liberation movement, directed against the colonial regime of czarism, was an organic component of the Russian people's liberation movement in all the stages of its development.

Last year was the 150th anniversary of the conspiracy of 1832. It came to fruition in the nobility, the members of which had been educated in Petersburg and Moscow and had joined the Decembrist Movement and accepted the European democratic ideology of the 1830s. They advocated (especially the left wing) a state organization for Georgia on a new, bourgeois basis.

We need to resolutely underscore the fact that this was a movement directed against the czarist colonial regime and not an anti-Russian movement. Alexander Chavchavadze, Grigol Orbeliani, Solomon Dodashvili, Nikoloz Baratashvili and Giorgi Eristavi defended Russian culture and progressive Russian social philosophy.

The first phase of the national liberation movement (the conspiracy of 1832) was ideologically related to Decembrism; the second phase was nurtured by the ideology of Russian revolutionary democracy; and the third phase, by Marxism-Leninism. In this phase of the struggle for social liberation, with the working class in the vanguard, the national liberation movement, the traditions and experience of this movement, merged dialectically. One phase naturally set the stage for the next, and they were extensions of each other.

A distance of more than a half-century separated the concluding of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk and the writing of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" by K. Marx and F. Engels. An even longer time would pass before Niko Nikoladze, the Georgian writer, publicist and public figure, kindred spirit and companion-in-arms of Chernyshevskiy, Herten and Ogarev and contributor to KOLOKOL, would travel the roads of Russia to the nations of Western Europe and meet Karl Marx.

The name Karl Marx would soon appear in the Georgian periodical press, including Sergey Meskhi's DROEBA (VREMENA) and Ilya Chavchavadze's IVERIA, although another approximately 20 years would pass before Marxism spread to Georgia. Marxist concepts would penetrate into Georgia from Europe through Russia.

The principles of kindness and justice swept into Georgia from Russia over the historic road opened up by the Treaty of Georgiyevsk.

### III.

Capitalism dug its own grave in Georgia, as it has everywhere else. Despite its relatively small size, the proletariat represented the main revolutionary force in Georgia in the 1890s.

The life-giving nature of the revolutionary fraternity between the Russian and Georgian peoples was demonstrated with special force in the proletarian phase of the liberation struggle, when Russia's multinational working class headed by the great Lenin became the vanguard.

The center of the revolutionary movement shifted to Russia with the onset of the imperialist era. Russia naturally became the homeland of Marxism-Leninism in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the era of colonialism's destruction, the era of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and the building of a communist society, and Lenin's creation of the Bolshevik Party, the vanguard of the international communist movement.

The shifting of the center of the revolutionary-liberation struggle from Western Europe to Russia had a decisive influence also upon the fate of the Georgian people. The liberation movement of Georgia's workers was an organic, integral part of the revolutionary struggle waged by Russia's peoples. They got to know Marxism, which became their scientific program for the liberation struggle precisely as a result of the Russian revolutionary movement.

Marxism as an integral, harmonious system of philosophical, economic and socio-political views penetrated into Georgia from Russia as a result of the theoretical work of Plekhanov's "Liberation of Labor" group. The first social-democratic group, "Mesame-dasi," laid the foundation for the Marxist ideological trend in Georgian social and political thinking: "The 'Mesame-dasi' left an indelible mark on the revolutionary movement of Georgia's workers as an inseparable element of the all-Russian workers' movement.

The Russian Social Democrats played a large role in the spread of Marxism in Georgia and the creation of the first Marxist workers' groups there. They willingly shared their experience in revolutionary work with the Georgian comrades and helped them to create and strengthen revolutionary groups and organizations.

The role of the Russian proletariat in the liberation movement of Georgia's workers became especially strong when the struggle to merge socialism with the workers' movement began. This was accomplished by the "Alliance for the Liberation of the Working Class," created by V.I. Lenin in Petersburg.

At the end of the 1890s and the beginning of the [1]900s scientific socialism was united with the workers' movement, and Marxism-Leninism became established in Georgia.

Georgia's peasantry took an active, revolutionary stand. Their problems met with a response in Hertzen's KOLOKOL. During the first Russian revolution Leo Tolstoy responded in his way to the revolutionary movement of Georgia's peasants. In a letter addressed to Ilya Nakashidze, he wrote the following:

"The information reported by K(ipiani) is of enormous importance, in my opinion, and we absolutely must acquaint the people with the enormously important event taking place in Guria.

"I would like very much to convey to the Gurians those feelings and thought evoked in me by their amazing actions.

"If you can and if it is convenient for you to do so, tell them that there is an old man, who for 20 years has thought and written that all human troubles stem from the fact that people expect assistance and the regulation of their lives from others, from the authorities...."

Leo Tolstoy was actually calling the peasantry to action.

Georgia's peasantry, together with its working class, wrote some glorious pages in the history of all three Russian revolutions. V.I. Lenin and our entire party valued greatly the revolutionary movement of the Georgian peasants.

As early as the 3rd Congress of the RFDRP[Russian Social Democratic Labor Party] V.I. Lenin made the following statement:

"The issue of supporting the peasant movement is actually broken down into two issues: 1. the theoretical bases and 2. the party's practical experience. The second speaker, Comrade Barsov (Barsov was M. Tskhakaya--E.Sh.), who is well acquainted with the most progressive peasant movement--in Guria--will provide the answer to the latter question."

In another historic document, "The Draft Resolution on Events in the Caucasus," V.I. Lenin stated:

"Taking into account,

"1. the fact that the special conditions of sociopolitical life in the Caucasus have been conducive to the creation of our party's more militant organizations there;

"2. the fact that the revolutionary mood of most of the population in the Caucasus, in both the cities and the country, has already reached the point of a national uprising against the autocracy;

"3. the fact that the autocratic government is already sending troops and artillery to Guria, preparing to destroy all of the most important centers of rebellion in the most ruthless way."

V.I. Lenin further concluded that a "victory" for the autocracy over the popular uprising in the Caucasus, made easier by the foreign element in that population, will have the most harmful consequences for the success of the revolution throughout Russia...."

From the time they were formed, Georgia's Marxist, social democratic organizations were structured on the unshakable foundation of proletarian internationalism.

Russians S. Alliluyev, F. Mayorov, N. Poletayev, Z. Litvin-Sedoy, M. Kalinin, V. Kurnatovskiy and others, Armenians S. Shaumyan, B. Knunyants, S. Spandaryan and S. Petrosyan (Kamo), Azerbaijanis M. Azizbekov, N. Narimanov and others, Ukrainians, Jews, Poles, Latvians and the sons of other peoples worked side by side with Georgians M. Tskhakaya, F. Makharadze, S. Dzhibladze, A. Tsulukidze, V. Ketskhoveri, J. Stalin, P. Dzhabaridze, Z. Chodrishvili, M. Bochoridze, I. Sturua, S. Kavtaradze, A. Okuashvili and others.

Sergey Mironovich Kirov, outstanding Russian professional revolutionary, staunch Leninist and fiery orator, who worked a long time in Georgia and in the Caucasus, later played an exceptionally large role in the struggle for the victory and the strengthening of Soviet power in Georgia.

Georgian Bolsheviks A. Yenukidze, S. Ordzhonikidze, L. Kartvelishvili, Sh. Eliava, M. Orakhelashvili, G. Sturua, S. Todriya and others engaged in active revolutionary work in various industrial centers in Russia. They later worked in the Russian Federation and other fraternal republics.

Georgian military leaders and commanders Vasili Kikvidze, Nestor Kalandarishvili, Lukiane Tabukashvili, Sasha Gegechkori and others wrote many brilliant pages in the history of the civil war.

The attention and concern with which V.I. Lenin followed the work of Georgia's party organizations is well known. This is borne out by the great leader's correspondence with Georgia's party organizations and with the Georgian revolutionaries, and by his personal contacts and friendship with many local Bolsheviks.

Over a 2-year period Lenin's ISKRA published around 80 articles and reports dealing with the revolutionary movement in Georgia and the Transcaucasus.

V.I. Lenin's advice and instructions were part of the foundation of all the work carried out by the party organizations of Georgia and the Transcaucasus.

V.I. Lenin's doctrine on the national question was a crucial factor contributing to the success achieved by the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks in indoctrinating the area's workers in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and friendship of peoples. V.I. Lenin's works and the main program principles adopted by the 2nd party congress, the 80th anniversary of which was recently commemorated extensively by all progressive mankind, armed the Bolsheviks with a scientific understanding of the national question and the ability to indoctrinate workers of various nationalities in a spirit of proletarian internationalism.

There was never an instance in the history of Russia's revolutionary movement in which the Transcaucasian workers began a struggle and the workers of Russia's industrial centers failed to support them, never an instance in which the workers of the Transcaucasus did not support a struggle begun in Petersburg, Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other revolutionary centers in Russia. The proletariat of the Transcaucasus always acted together with Russia's proletariat as a single force in the struggle against the czarist regime.

V.I. Lenin regarded the internationalist principles underlying the organization and the work of the Transcaucasian party organizations as models for the other party organizations. "The social democracy in the Caucasus, which has conducted propaganda simultaneously in the Georgian, Armenian, Tatar and Russian languages," the party leader stated, "should serve as a model for us."

More than once after that V.I. Lenin noted the know-how and the example set by the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks in the resolution of the national question. He stated that "only that total unity (at the sites, from top to bottom) of the workers of all nations, which has been accomplished for so long and so successfully in the Caucasus, is in conformity with the interests and the tasks of the workers' movement."

The proletariat of the Transcaucasus, which had gone through the Leninist school of international indoctrination, worthily bore the banner of internationalism in the flames of all three Russian revolutions.

#### IV.

Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia were alienated from Soviet Russia for several years following the October Revolution.

During those years Georgia, like the entire Transcaucasus, was under the power of the imperialist states of Western Europe.

Only ties with revolutionary Russian could assure true independence for the Georgian people--the creation of Georgian national statehood. The choice was between the Entente and revolutionary Russia.

The Mensheviks chose the Entente.

During the years 1918-1920 our people experienced on the practical level the results of domination first by German-Turkish and then Anglo-French colonizers. The capitalists of the Western European states hastened to rob Georgia of its natural resources. The Menshevik government itself attempted to open wide the doors to foreign capital. The concessionary policy of the Mensheviks was clear evidence of this. In the lifetime of a single generation foreign capital was granted concessions over the forests of the Bzyb'skoye, Ingurskoye and Tskhenistskal'skoye gorges, the Tkvarcheli coal mines, the Chiatura manganese pits and mines, the Borzhomi resort area with its mineral springs, oil fields in various places, copper mines, the hydroelectric power of the Kura, the Aragvi and the Alazani, and other natural resources.

Implementation of the Menshevik government's concessionary plans resulted in foreign capital seizing all the key positions in the nation's economy and enslaving it politically.

Prominent Georgian writer Niko Lordkipanidze wrote the following about prerevolutionary Georgia: "Georgia is being sold... being sold in its entirety... being sold piecemeal: Kakheti and Imereti, Kartli, Svaneti and Migreliya, Guria and Lechukhumi, Racha and Dzhavakheti. It is being sold in small pieces; anyone who wants to can buy it, can buy as much as he wants and under his own terms: with a deposit, with no money, with cash, temporarily or permanently, with bank assistance or with our assistance."

The victory for Soviet power saved our people. With the help of the great Russian people and the heroic Red Army the workers of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia overthrew the counterrevolutionary regimes and established Soviet power in the Transcaucasus.



The Red Banner of Soviet power was raised over Georgia on 25 February 1921. Basic political reforms were effected in the republic immediately after that. They totally changed Georgia's economic and social makeup.

Soviet Russia was that center of attraction into a close state alliance with which all the Soviet republics rushed. The example of the Russian Federation confirmed Lenin's prediction that the peoples liberated from social and national oppression would immediately want to draw close and enter into an alliance with the large and advanced socialist nations, that the more democratic the Russian republic would be, "the more powerful would be the force of voluntary gravitation toward the republic by the working masses of all nations."

In a letter to G.K. Ordzhonikidze dated 2 March 1921 and in a letter dated 14 April of that same year, "To the Comrade Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Dagistan and the Mountain Republic," V.I. Lenin outlined a program of action for the Bolsheviks of Georgia and the Caucasus, which assured the successful beginning of socialist development in the area.

V.I. Lenin frequently met with party and state officials of Georgia and the entire Transcaucasus, carefully directed their work, advised them to take advantage of Soviet Russia's experience, while taking local conditions into account, and to consider the specific nature and characteristics of the Transcaucasian republics, and taught them not to copy the tactics of the Russian communists "but to alter them after careful consideration to conform to the difference in the specific conditions."

Treaties and agreements on military-political and economic alliances concluded in 1920 and 1921 played a significant role with respect to the RSFSR's state rapprochement with all the Soviet republics. They were based on the Leninist principles of complete equality and fraternal friendship.

The treaty of workers and peasants concluded between the RSFSR and the Georgian SSR on 21 May 1921 underscored the fact that "the Georgian SSR has no obligations stemming from the fact that territory of the Georgian SSR previously belonged to the former Russian empire."

Workers of the Transcaucasus regarded the alliance with the Russian people as the only guarantee that their freedom and independence would be preserved. It was this way at the stage of the Transcaucasian Federation's creation. It was this way in 1922, during the period of the founding of the USSR. It is this way today.

"The working masses of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan owe the existence of Soviet power and their liberation entirely to Russia," G.K. Ordzhonikidze said in December of 1922.

While strengthening and developing the state alliance of the independent Soviet republics with the Russian Federation and resolving problems of cooperation for them, the Communist Party and V.I. Lenin dealt with the national characteristics of all the peoples with understanding and sympathy.

In a directive sent to the Revolutionary Council of the 11th Army, V.I. Lenin proposed the establishment of complete contact with Georgia's Revolutionary

Committee, "not taking any steps which might affect the interests of the local population... treating Georgia's sovereign agencies with special respect and demonstrating special concern and caution with respect to the Georgian population."

V.I. Lenin, who undeviatingly observed the principles of complete equality for the Soviet republics, resolutely halted any attempts to violate the standards of national equality for the peoples.

The Leninist party's main political task in the years when socialism was being developed was to eliminate the actual inequality, inherited from the prerevolutionary past, of those nations and ethnic groups which had begun their campaign for socialism from different starting points. The Russian people and their working class, which demonstrated true heroism and made considerable sacrifices in order to overcome the backwardness of the national outskirts and to accelerate their development, played a crucial role in the elimination of the economic and cultural backwardness of the peoples. They thereby sacredly fulfilled their international duty. Actually, this was great heroism on the part of the entire class, the entire people.

The history of the socialist economy, culture and state construction is at the same time a history of the formation of socialist classes and nations. The founding of the USSR, the five-year plans, industrialization, collectivization, the cultural revolution, the civil and Great Patriotic wars and the construction of developed socialism left their mark on the shaping and development of the socialist nations.

We see a very interesting picture when we look at the history of the building of the socialist economy and culture from the standpoint of the history of the shaping of the Georgian people as a socialist nation.

A stable commonality of economic life is one of the characteristic features of a socialist nation, as it is of a bourgeois nation.

We can therefore regard the history of the building of the socialist economy, industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution as a history of the shaping of socialist nations--Georgians, Abkhaz, Osets and other peoples.

Like many other regions of our nation, Georgia was an economically backward area at the time Soviet power achieved victory in Georgia.

The entire world knows that with the establishment of Soviet power, the party, at V.I. Lenin's initiative, outlined a course of accelerated economic, social and cultural development for the national republics.

Soviet Russia provided extensive and all-round assistance to the non-Russian peoples, including the Georgian people. Factories and plants and enormous sums for the development of the republic's economy were turned over to Georgia without recompense.

Following the founding of the USSR accelerated rates of economic and cultural development for the non-Russian peoples became one of the main directions of the

party's economy policy. We know that budgetary expenditures of many Union republics, including Georgia, were covered by Union subsidies.

Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the entire nation--the building of socialism in Georgia was carried out with this Leninist formula.

Construction of the Zemo-Avchala Hydroelectric Power Plant, a large one for those times, was begun as early as 1922. The start-up of the first section of the ZAGES[Zemo-Avchala Hydroelectric Power Plant] cost 16,385,000 rubles. A total of 9,137,000 rubles, or 56 percent of the total, was appropriated out of the budget of the RSFSR and the USSR.

The Rioni and other hydroelectric power plants were placed into operation following the ZAGES. Georgia at that time could not have built one of them without the fraternal assistance of peoples of the USSR.

All of the hydroelectric power plants--from the ZAGES to the Inguri GES, the giant power engineering project of the Transcaucasus--are a grand monument to the friendship of peoples.

Soviet Georgia's economic development is a brilliant illustration of the Communist Party's Leninist national policy, which turned the formerly economically backward colonial outskirts into a highly developed, industrial-agrarian socialist republic.

Friendship of peoples in the international sense is first of all internationalization of the economy, which has been achieved to the greatest degree in the Soviet Union. It is precisely as a result of internationalization of the economy, based on real economic equality for all nations and ethnic groups, that it was possible to achieve socioeconomic and cultural prosperity for all our nation's peoples.

To some degree a process of internationalization of the economy is also characteristic of capitalism. Under capitalism, however, and especially imperialism, this process is a contradictory one, achieved by oppressing the small peoples, with a struggle by the so-called "civilized" nations for domination over the "non-civilized" nations.

Only socialist internationalization of the economy is a real condition for the prospering of all nations and ethnic groups making up the single fraternal family of Soviet peoples, one of the prerequisites for their development as socialist nations.

A total of 140 of the 200 years which have gone by since the concluding of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk belong to the prerevolutionary period. The social and economic changes which have occurred during the 60 years of Soviet power clearly reflect the advantages of the new, socialist state structure, of the unification of all nations and ethnic groups in the consolidation of the nation's economic strength.

Capital investments in Georgia amounted to 32,367,000,000 rubles during the period 1921-1982. Capital investments during the 10th five-year period exceeded the figure for the first post-war five-year period by a factor of 8.2.

A steady rise in capital investments is especially characteristic of the 9th, 10th and 11th five-year periods. Almost 59 percent of all the post-war capital investments, a total of 18,222,000,000 rubles, was applied in Georgia during the years 1971-1982. One of the main results of this trend is the fact that our republic now has a powerful multi-branch national economy, which is at the level of all-Union and world demands in many respects.

The production of national income is an extremely important indicator of national economic development. Soviet Georgia has achieved great successes in this respect. In 1982 the national income amounted to more than 8 billion rubles. This exceeded the corresponding figure for 1960 by a factor of 4, and there is simply no point in comparing it with prerevolutionary Georgia's national income, the growth factor in this case being 150.

Does the fact that industrial output volume in Georgia increased by a factor of 304, agriculture--13.5, capital investments--303 and commodity turnover--35, during the 6 decades not demonstrate a great quantitative and qualitative leap?

Today Soviet Georgia turns out 10 times as many machine tools in a single day as our entire nation produced in 1922. Our power engineering system produces four times as much electric energy in a single day as was produced during the entire year of 1922.

The following figures give an idea of the rapid development of Soviet Georgia's industry: In 1980 industrial output exceeded the level for 1913 by a factor of 166, 1940--16, 1950--10, 1960--4.2, and 1970--1.9.

The traditional industrial centers developed, and large new centers emerged, including Rustavi, Gori, Zestafoni, Madneuli, Zugdidi and others.

Industry has developed rapidly in the Abkhaz ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR and the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast, and industrial production has increased in the previously backward cities and rayons. Modern branches of industry such as the metallurgical, chemical, electric power engineering, machine building, electric locomotive engineering, motor vehicle, aviation, electrical engineering, instrument making, radio electronics and other industries have come into being in Georgia.

Soviet Georgia's economy today is represented by airplanes, electric locomotives, motor vehicles, machine tools, iron, steel, rolled metal, synthetic fibers and so forth. Power engineering, especially electric power engineering, the coal and petroleum industries, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry, tea and citrus farming, and other branches of the economy are developing. The output from the most important branches of the Georgian SSR's economy are going to all the Union and autonomous republics. Soviet Georgia exports its products to 80 nations of the world, including the USA, Great Britain, Belgium, Switzerland and others.

The national per capita income in Soviet Georgia today is 10 times the national income produced in Turkey.

Today almost 6 times as much electric energy is produced per capita in Soviet Georgia as in Turkey or Iran.

Today Soviet Georgia smelts 3 times as much iron and 5 times as much steel per capita as Turkey and 28 times as much iron and 29 times as much steel as Iran.

There is no need to continue these comparisons. The figures cited adequately demonstrate how correct was the choice made by the great Georgian patriots 200 years ago.

The industrialization of the republic's economy was only made possible by the assistance of the great Russian people and all the fraternal Soviet peoples.

Almost every unit of output produced in any national republic embodies the joint labor of peoples of the USSR.

The industrialization of the republic's economy based on the dialectics of the basis and the superstructure is in a certain sense the result of materialization of the working class' ideology, its internationalism and the concepts of friendship of peoples. At the same time the industrialization of the socialist national economy is an inexhaustable source of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and is simultaneously a result of and the creator of friendship of peoples. This is because industrialization brings about the development of the working class, and Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism are an organic component of the working class' ideology--Marxism-Leninism.

Industrialization has drastically altered the correlation between Georgia's urban and rural populations. In 1982 53.2 percent of the entire population lived in cities and 46.8 percent resided in rural areas, while in 1921 rural residents accounted for 80 percent of the total population.

The accelerated growth of Georgia's working class is one of the positive results of socialist industrialization. Compared with 1922, the number of workers in the republic has increased 28-fold. According to the 1979 census, workers and their families comprised 55.6 percent of the republic's entire population and 53.3 percent of the employed population. According to the latest data this figure is now 68.8 percent.

And so, the most progressive class of our era, the motivating social force behind social progress in Georgia today, is not only the leader with respect to its political role but also comprises the majority of the population. Our people are justifiably proud of the Tbilisi aircraft and electric locomotive engineers, the Rustavi metallurgical workers and chemical industry workers, the Chiatura, Tkbuli and Tkvarcheli miners, the machine builders of Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Batumi, Poti, Sukhumi and Tskhinvali, the large army of Transcaucasian railroad workers and other worker collectives.

It is our task to continue increasing the republic's industrial capability to bring the per capita industrial output up to the level of the world's advanced regions in the near future.

This task will be accomplished in the next few years with the assistance of the CPSU Central Committee and the Union government and with our people's selfless labor.

Lenin's plan for making agriculture a cooperative operation, focusing on the elimination of the kulaks as a class and on the creation of a kolkhoz peasantry, could only be implemented under the conditions of Leninist friendship of peoples and proletarian internationalism.

It was under the banner of internationalism that the Leninist party led the peasantry toward the bright future.

While industrialization and the development of industry resulted in the rapid qualitative and quantitative growth of the working class, the collectivization of agriculture, its initially extensive and then intensive, development, concentration, specialization and the formation of large agroindustrial complexes accelerated the formation and qualitative development of the kolkhoz peasantry and the class of farm workers.

Both historical processes--industrialization and collectivization--were of enormous importance for the shaping of a Georgian socialist nation, because it was precisely on this basis that the economic commonality of the Georgian people, the homogeneity of their social structure, was consolidated as a result of the formation and development of the socialist society's classes.

Agricultural output has increased approximately 13.5-fold during the years of Soviet power, which has made the economic commonality of the nations even stronger. The area planted to fruits has increased 5-fold during the 6 decades, citrus fruits--53-fold, grapes--4-fold and tea--55-fold. We now obtain 12 times more tea leaves, 1.6-fold more grapes and 2.6-fold more fruits per hectare than was produced in 1922.

With the development of specialization Georgia's agriculture assumed a special place in the all-Union distribution of labor. It is one of the Soviet nation's main suppliers of tea and citrus fruits, as well as quality wines, cognac, fruits, tobacco leaves and early vegetables.

In 1982 the republic's farm workers sold the state 11.6-fold more grapes than in 1940, 43.6-fold more fruits, 10.7-fold more citrus fruits and 10.5-fold more green tea leaves. This demonstrates the fact that our people's international contribution to the all-Union economy is steadily growing. In Soviet Georgia the per capita agricultural output has grown by 83 percent over the past 20 years, while the figure is only 18 percent in neighboring Turkey.

At the same time, there are still numerous unutilized reserves in Georgia's agriculture, and it is our task to identify and activate them.

We are still going to have to do a great deal of work toward the fulfillment of the Food Program. The republic is in a position to greatly increase the population's supply of meat, milk and eggs, while at the same time contributing the largest possible amounts of output from its specialized branches to the all-Union stocks. This is our international duty.

The fact that a developed transport system with almost every type of modern transport--rail, motor vehicle, naval, air, pipeline and cable--has been created in Georgia, is highly important to the economic commonality of the socialist

nation. The electrification of all the railways (1,414 kilometers) in the Georgian SSR was completed in 1969. The combined length of roads in the republic increased 3.5-fold between 1928 and 1981, including an 8.3-fold increase in the total length of surfaced roads. During the past decade we have acquired a unique form of transportation--pneumatic transport.

It is planned in the future to build a unique railway--the Caucasian Transshipment Line.

Several days ago the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee approved the republic's proposal for resolving its energy problem to the year 2 000.

Soviet Georgia's economy has developed rapidly and with great vitality in all the stages. The nation's entry into the period of developed socialism has accelerated this growth even more.

We have already discussed the national income. The national income is the only source of accumulation and popular consumption. We must therefore increase profitability for all branches, associations and enterprises in the national economy and on this basis, achieve the continued rapid growth of the national income by improving management and systematically perfecting methods of administration.

At the same time, we must establish the best ratio between the national income generated and the national income consumed in our republic. The volume of national income consumed still lags behind the volume of national income generated. We need to make better use of the investment funds, expand the production of consumer goods and accelerate the development of all branches in the service sector. Only in this way will we be able to achieve the accumulation of national income and the purposeful application of personal consumption funds.

The people's material welfare is improving as the national income grows.

Real per capita income in the republic grew 2.2-fold during the period 1965-1982. During that same period payments out of public consumption funds increased from 668.8 million rubles to 2 billion 34 million rubles, and per capita payments grew from 149 rubles to 400 rubles.

The mean monthly wages of blue- and white-collarworkers in the national economy increased from 75 to 153 rubles between 1961 and 1982, and from 105 to 215 rubles considering benefits and payments out of public consumption funds.

The wages of kolkhozes workers have increased regularly. For example, the wages per worker increased from 25 to 117 rubles during the years 1961-1982, a 4.7-fold increase.

The figures defining the improved welfare of the kolkhoz workers and other farm workers become even more graphic when we consider the growth in the family budget derived from private plots.

Housing construction has been carried out on a broad scale during the years of Soviet power. Almost 62 million square meters of housing was built and released for occupancy in Georgia during the years 1921-1982. This exceeds the entire

housing fund of contemporary Tbilisi by more than 4-fold. During the period 1956-1982 3,728,000 people received apartments, 2,907,000 of them in new buildings. The number of doctors in Georgia grew 33-fold and the number of hospital beds increased 17-fold in Georgia during the period 1922-1982. With respect to the number of doctors our republic far surpasses all of the world's capitalist nations. Georgia has 51 doctors for each 10,000 residents, while the USA has 23, the FRG--27, Japan--17, Switzerland--26, Sweden--30 and Canada--22.

Georgia has become a tourist and resort area of all-Union and world importance. Thanks to its unequalled natural and climatic conditions it has become a real health maker for the Soviet people.

The history of the development of Georgia's socialist economy, industrialization, collectivization and the cultural revolution, as we have already stated, is at the same time the history of the Georgian people's development as a socialist nation, particularly the emergence of its most important feature--unity of economic life on the basis of socialist production relationships. The development of a socialist nation would be impossible in our society without international relations, because these processes occur within the common, international family of Soviet peoples.

Socialist internationalism is one of the essential conditions for the development of a socialist nation and its economy and consequently, for the unity of its economic life. Such are the dialectics of this matter, the logic of the mandatory, inevitable participation of the international in the process of developing the national.

This Leninist strategy and tactics for socioeconomic and cultural development being implemented by the party and the plans outlined at the 26th CPSU Congress and the 26th Congress of the Georgian Communist Party are a guarantee of continued consolidation of the economic and cultural unity of the Georgians, the Abkhaz, the Ossets and other peoples of the republic as socialist nations, a guarantee of their continued prospering.

We should consider our prime patriotic and international task, and this has been repeatedly stated, to be that of eliminating once and for all the republic's relative lag behind average Union indices in the area of economic development and increasing the republic's contribution to the development of the nation's national economic complex.

The gross public product in the republic will increase 2.1-fold in the next 15 years, the produced national income will grow 2.2-fold, gross industrial output will increase almost 2.4-fold and agricultural output will increase by 85 percent.

Manual labor will be sharply reduced by the technical reequipment of all sectors of the economy and the extensive application of comprehensive mechanization and automation in production, and labor productivity will be increased 2.2-fold by enhancing the effectiveness of public production.

The growth in the republic's industrial capacity will be achieved mainly with the accelerated development of machine building, the chemical industry and



electric power engineering. Maximum use will be made of possibilities for further developing the republic's agriculture, particularly the cultivation of grapes, tea, citrus and other fruits and grain, cattle and sheep raising, silk production and other leading branches.

All of this will make it possible to significantly improve the population's standard of living, to meet reasonable consumption standards for food and general consumer goods and to provide each resident of the republic with housing space conforming to the standards.

The planned per capita national income volume will increase 2.1-fold during the period 1986-2000, and real incomes will increase 1.9-fold.

The republic's portion of the national income will increase from 1.7 percent to 2.2 percent, its portion of gross industrial output--from 1.4 to 1.66 percent, and agricultural output--from 1.9 to 2.2 percent.

During that period Georgia will exceed the average Union level for production of national income and gross agricultural output and will reach it with respect to per capita industrial output.

These are the grand prospects opening up for Georgia today!

In order to implement these plans we have to continue to do a great deal of hard work.

We must activate to the maximum possible degree reserves for further intensifying public production and enhancing its effectiveness, boldly enter into experiments, constantly seek new and effective forms and methods for managing the national economy and more efficient ways and means of thoroughly accelerating scientific and technological progress and applying the achievements at the practical level, and taking all possible steps to strengthen the agroindustrial complex. These are not just production problems, but political problems as well.

It is our international duty to accomplish these tasks. And we need to talk about them today. V.I. Lenin persistently appealed to us to focus our attention on unresolved problems also on our anniversaries. Friendship of peoples is not simply a slogan. It is first of all a cause. Living within a single family of peoples sets large tasks for all the peoples, including our people, all the republic's workers.

The problems facing us are fairly complex. The experience we have accumulated in a decade of extensive, universal struggle to implement the decrees passed by our party's Central Committee on the Tbilisi party gorkom, however, convinces us that we shall be able to successfully resolve these complex problems as well.

One of the main tasks is that of perfecting the branch structure of the economy, of improving national economic, intra-branch and inter-branch proportions.

Over a long period in the past rates of development for the republic's industry gradually slowed in comparison with the average Union rates.

In 1970 the republic was 35.1 points below the average Union indicator for per capita industrial output. The situation was improved somewhat during the past decade by implementing a program worked out for accelerated general economic and industrial development, but the correlation continues to be unfavorable.

We should continue to consider the accelerated development of industrial production to be the most important area in the work of improving the branch structure of the economy. And the task of further enhancing the industrial level of the republic's economy makes a highly urgent item on the agenda the problem of sharply improving the branch structure of industry, the leading sector of the national economy. Not only the accelerated development of sectors determining scientific and technological progress, but the enhancement of the industrial level of the economy as a whole and the task of bringing its technical base into full conformity with the increased demands today, depend greatly upon the successful accomplishment of this task.

Scientific and technological progress and the accelerated adoption of scientific and technological achievements in the economy are increasingly becoming the most important factor in the growth of effectiveness for public production, along with progressive changes in the structure of the economy.

A specific, long-range program of action in this area was outlined in decisions coming out of the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party in 1982, which thoroughly considered the most important tasks of the republic's party organizations with respect to further developing science and accelerating scientific and technological progress in the economy.

The most important technical and economic indices were indicated for each sector of the republic's economy and for the branch complexes in accordance with the decisions of that plenum, and assignments were worked out to the end of the 11th five-year period, as well as the main areas of work for the longer period, with the end national economic results precisely defined.

It is now the task of the republic's party organizations to use all possible means to assure the continued accelerated development of science, the improvement of its materials and equipment base and the undeviating enhancement of its effectiveness, close integration of science and production, taking the specific nature of each sector of the economy into account, and improving the system for controlling science and scientific and technological progress in accordance with the increased demands of today.

This is precisely what should be considered most important, and it is precisely for this reason that we call scientific and technological progress the architect of the future Georgia.

The inseparability of the national economies from our great nation's common national economic complex infinitely enlarges possibilities for the comprehensive, planned economic development of each fraternal republic and reveals more clearly conditions for their more extensive utilization for the good of each nation and ethnic group, taking into thorough account the natural resources, climatic and other characteristic features.

The Georgian party organization relies precisely upon these factors for working out the strategy and tactics for the development of the republic's economy and its optimal combination with the nation's common national economic complex.

A permanent search for ways, forms and methods of efficiently accomplishing the strategic and tactical tasks is increasingly becoming one of the most important areas of party organizational and party management work. This is graphically confirmed by the economic experiments extensively conducted in recent years in the planning, control and management of the economy, which have embraced practically all areas of the republic's social and economic life.

Let us consider just the Abasha experiment. Briefly stated, its ultimate goal was to enhance Georgia's role and significance in the common Union division of labor, and consequently, in the country's national economic complex.

Agroindustrial associations--a component of the republic's agroindustrial complex, powerful, multi-branch and with a modern equipment base--are now successfully functioning in all areas of Georgia.

The effect of the experiment begun in Abasha did not end there, however. The creation of the State Committee of the Georgian SSR for Agricultural Production at the beginning of 1983, which combined the Ministry of Agriculture, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply for Agriculture and the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources into a single mobile agency of control, was the next stage.

What did we gain from the experiment? What were its most important results?

Implementation of the measures specified in the plan made possible the creation of a single system of control for agricultural production and other related sectors of the economy at both the rayon and the republic level, the efficient combining of production programs for agriculture and the processing industry, the concentration of material, labor and financial resources in the crucial areas of production, and coordination of the work of various ministries, departments and organizations in agriculture and industry and in other sectors of the economy to achieve the desired national economic end results.

On the republic scale the Abasha experiment is only now actually gaining force. We link the resolution of many problems facing the agroindustrial complex with its expansion on a broad scale. First of all, the machinery created in the course of this experiment should create the conditions for the successful realization of the republic's food program, an integral part of the nation's common Food Program.

The republic's food program opens up clear prospects for the continued growth and strengthening of Soviet Georgia's multi-branch, highly developed food complex, especially for accelerating the growth of production of the southern and subtropical crops and increasing their contribution to the common Union stocks, and improving the supply of animal husbandry products for the republic's industrial centers, resort and tourist areas.

Here are just a few figures to illustrate the large scale of our plans.

By 1990 meat production is to increase 1.6-fold compared with 1980; milk, 1.6-fold; egg production will almost double; tea production will increase 1.4-fold; grapes, 1.6-fold; and citrus fruits, 3.5-fold.

Under the plan for the development and distribution of productive forces in the Georgian SSR the production of high-grade tea leaves is to be increased to 750,000 tons by the end of the second millennium. This will basically resolve the problem of satisfying our nation's demand with domestically produced tea. Also by that time the production of grapes will be increased to 1,700,000 tons; fruits, 1,500,000 tons; citrus fruits, to 550,000 tons; potatoes, 700,000 tons; meat (live weight), 400,000 tons; milk, 1,200,000 tons; and eggs--to 1,600,000,000.

During the forthcoming 15-year period more than 14 billion rubles will be invested in the development of Georgia's agriculture, including 13 billion rubles for the construction of production facilities. This is 2.4-fold more than was spent during the past 15 years. A total of 270,000 hectares of farmland will be irrigated, the drainage of the Kolkhida lowland will be basically completed, operating irrigation systems will be reconstructed, and so forth.

You can see that we have outlined some large and serious tasks, which thoroughly conform to the interests of the nation's common national economic complex and the interests of all Union republics and economic regions.

We have already mentioned the Abasha experiment. This concept has had its logical continuation and development in experiments extensively conducted in Poti and Tbilisi, Gardabani and other cities and rayons in the republic.

The Poti experiment is an example.

An inter-branch association created under the ispolkom of the city soviet of people's deputies has graphically demonstrated the viability of this new system for administering the city's economy.

The concept "additional effect" has taken hold extensively in the association's operation. It is that part of the total effect from the operation of the city's enterprises as a whole, which is achieved as a result of improving administration of the economy, conserving material, financial and labor resources.

The association has been in existence only 2 years, but the results achieved in this brief time are undeniably significant.

Last year the city's industry fulfilled the annual plan in 11 months. Industrial output increased by almost 14 percent. A full 96.4 percent of the growth in industrial output was achieved by increasing labor productivity. Product quality was improved. The amount transferred to the state budget increased by 47 percent, including an increase of 78.2 percent for transfers to the common Union budget. Enterprise profits grew by 69 percent.

Economic experiments are creatively applied at enterprises in Tbilisi and other cities and industrial centers of the republic.

Such innovations are contributing to an economic upsurge, the resolution of social problems and the development and strengthening of the economic commonality of our people as a socialist nation. This applies not just to the Georgian people, but also to the Abkhaz, the Ossets and other peoples.

The second thing we should mention after economics when analyzing the process of the shaping of the Georgian nation as a socialist nation is the Georgian language's constitutional status and place in the socialist society, its role in the process of shaping the Georgian nation as a socialist nation.

In contrast to that period in which the Georgian people formed a bourgeois nation, the Georgian language in the socialist society has been given constitutional status and has undergone unprecedented development and improvement. The improved language has fulfilled most perfectly the function of language commonality as one of the main components of the nation's commonality.

The Constitution and the state Anthem of the Georgian SSR are written in this language; newspapers, magazines and books, printed in many millions of copies, are published in this language; scientific works, works of art and literature and textbooks are produced in this language.

The people, the party and the government have taken on the task of developing the language. A permanent state commission for establishing standards for the modern Georgian literary language is functioning under the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR. The "Dictionary of the Georgian Language," a multi-volume academic edition, has been published.

Classes are conducted in the Georgian language and the languages of other peoples of the USSR and the world at two universities and other higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, special education schools, vocational and technical schools in the republic.

Shows are performed in the Georgian language at dozens of theaters, and shows in the Georgian language are performed by casts from the republic's best academic theaters on tour in Moscow, in fraternal Union republics and abroad. Films are produced in the Georgian language at the republic film studios. Feature films produced at the "Georgia-Film" studio have rightly received broad recognition in many nations of the world.

We could cite many such examples.

The Georgian language performs state, political, scientific, pedagogical, artistical, and many other functions. All of this also assures the Georgian language's development. A language which does not fulfill these and many other functions dies, after all.

In the final analysis we owe this rebirth and prospering of the Georgian language to that turnaround in Georgia's history which began with the Treaty of Georgiyeysk.

The third characteristic feature of a socialist nation, the commonality of territory, is directly linked with the problem of shaping a national statehood, with the creation, development and prospering of the socialist republic.

The restoral of Georgia's territory to its historical and ethnographic borders, which was of enormous importance for consolidating the Georgian people and creating a unified Georgia, as we have already stated, occurred at the stage of the bourgeois nation's formation.

Another qualitative advance was made at this stage in the shaping of a Georgian socialist nation--Georgia's territory became the territory of the sovereign Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

With the help of the great Russian people the Georgian people restored and developed their state sovereignty.

Following the Treaty of Georgiyevsk and following Georgia's unification with Russia, not only did it not lose its territory, but, on the contrary, it gained the possibility of uniting all the feudally segmented Georgian lands into a single national territory.

Furthermore, with the assistance of the great Russian people the Georgian people built a newtype of state--a socialist republic--on this territory.

This is one of the reasons and one of the grounds on which we are commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk today.

The fourth element of a socialist nation is the stable commonality of mentality as expressed in the commonality of the culture.

The Georgian people's culture, like the culture of all the peoples inhabiting the republic, has flourished and undergone unprecedented development during the years of Soviet power.

The great Lenin considered the cultural revolution to be one of the main conditions for the building of socialism in our nation.

According to the 1897 census only 16 percent of the population in Georgia were literate, while the 1979 census indicated that of each 1,000 residents employed in the national economy in the republic, 856 had a higher, secondary or an incomplete secondary education, including 150 people with a higher education and 536 with an incomplete higher or a complete secondary general or specialized education.

This is one of the best literacy levels in the USSR and of the world.

In Soviet Georgia today 37 times as many books, 94 times as many magazines and 26 times as many newspapers are published in all languages as were published in 1922. A total of 1.6 million people are receiving various kinds of training or education. Prior to the victory for Soviet power we had only one higher educational institution. We now have 19. Today there are 1.1-fold more students per 10,000 residents in our republic than in Japan, and 1.4- to 2-fold more than in

such developed capitalist nations as Italy, Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany.

The cultural revolution was made possible by the assistance of fraternal peoples, based on the Marxist-Leninist dialectics of the national and the international. The transformation of the ideals of Leninist friendship of peoples into a material force and the cultural revolution itself were one of the factors in the indoctrination of the working masses in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian, socialist internationalism.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is the living embodiment of internationalism, of the Leninist principles of equality of peoples. All of the peoples and ethnic groups in our multinational state live as a single fraternal family. In spite of this real fact, our ideological enemies never tire of screaming wildly about this so-called "Russification" and the repression of the national minorities. Each year President Reagan schedules so-called "days of the enslaved Soviet peoples" in the USA, and so forth.

The Georgians, Abkhaz, Ossets and representatives of all the peoples residing in the republic are declaring once again today, during this celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, that this is nothing other than insinuations, malicious fabrications of bourgeois propaganda.

History and the contemporary era demonstrate completely the opposite.

V.I. Lenin stated that the national question is a world question.

And in world history socialism has provided the only correct solution to the national question.

This is one of the most important conquests of socialist civilization.

There were more than 3 million aborigines, mainly Indians, in the United States of America in the 18th century, during that period when the Treaty of Georgiyevsk was signed. By the beginning of this century their number had dropped to several hundreds of thousands. The colonizers destroyed the local population with fire and sword. Any commentary on this would be superfluous, as they say.

Around 50 million people have settled in the USA from Europe, Asia and South America, and no one has worried about the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity.

This is how the national question was resolved in the USA, the classical imperialist nation.

In our nation, however, the Great October Revolution opened up the way to the preservation of their identity, to state and cultural autonomy, for more than 100 peoples and ethnic groups.

Here we have two worlds, two results, two historical ways of resolving the national question.

Peoples who came under the protection of the Russian state not only did not lose their language and culture or other characteristic features of their nation, but, on the contrary, the preservation of their language and culture was assured precisely by their friendship with the great Russian people. Furthermore, it was only after they were united with Russia that they were shaped, first into bourgeois and then into socialist nations. The Georgian people traveled this path in the past 2 centuries, and almost all of the peoples which have linked their destinies with Russia have traveled a similar historical path.

The Georgian people have risen to the highest level of national development and have been shaped as a socialist nation in the fraternal family of Soviet peoples, which the great Russian people welded together for eternity. Anyone who understands history--and there is no other way to interpret Georgia's recent and latest history--cannot but be imbued with a sense of enormous gratitude to the great Russian people. This is one thing.

In the second place, we clearly see the role of all the Soviet peoples in the process of shaping the Georgian nation into a socialist nation and the role of the Georgian nation in the process of shaping the other peoples into socialist nations. We are filled with a sense of great gratitude to all the Soviet peoples for their fraternal assistance in both times of joy and times of trouble.

An unprecedented rebirth of the cultures of the national minorities oppressed under czarism has occurred during the years of Soviet power. Peoples who had no alphabet have acquired a literary language. As I have already stated, not the nullification of the national culture but a cultural revolution unprecedented in history has occurred in the life of all the Soviet peoples without exception, with the support of the great Russian people, in an atmosphere of friendship and fraternity of the Soviet peoples, including the Georgian people.

The 200th anniversary of the great manifesto of fraternity and friendship is therefore a celebration of the rebirth, the prospering and development of our culture, a culture national in form and socialist, which means that it is international, in substance.

This is one of the most important reasons and grounds for our celebration.

The civil and Great Patriotic wars were a historically unprecedented test of the Leninist friendship of peoples, of Soviet patriotism and internationalism. The multinational Soviet people, joined together by Marxist-Leninist principles and internationalism, courageously passed this test.

A total of 700,000 fightingmen from Georgia came to the homeland's defense, almost half of whom did not return from the front. A total of 164 people were awarded the great title Hero of the Soviet Union. The best sons and daughters of all our nation's peoples fought heroically for the victory over fascism. The main burden of the war was still borne by the Russian people, however, which brought them unfading glory and the most profound respect of all mankind.

The Communist Party, the leading and directing force in our society, the mind, the honor and the conscience of our era, a party of true revolutionaries and



innovators, the party of the working class, the party of all the Soviet people, is the inspirer of the friendship of Soviet peoples. Its Central Committee and Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov personally work tirelessly for the prospering of all the Soviet republics, for the strengthening and fraternal cooperation of peoples of the Soviet Union. This is borne out by the example of Soviet Georgia as well.

At the contemporary stage, the stage of developed socialism, there are two main trends in the party's Leninist national policy and the dialectics of the collaboration of nations: the prospering and development of the nations and the coming together of those nations. This is an extremely complex and profound social, economic and cultural process.

The undeviating drawing together of the Soviet Union's nations and ethnic groups is an objective process. The party is against any sort of artificial acceleration of this process, as it is against restraining the process. Not only is this not needed, but it could have harmful effects.

National isolation is contrary to the entire spirit of our society, to the internationalist ideals and morals of the communists, the principles underlying the building of communism, and is not in the interest of the development of the nations and nationalities themselves.

The logical conclusion follows that if a nation is a union of four particular features, then the possibilities for the development of nations are as enormous as are the possibilities for the further drawing together and consolidation of the peoples.

A new social and international union of peoples--the Soviet people--has grown up and gained strength in our nation during the years of socialist development.

This new historical union is characterized by harmonious interrelations among the classes and social groups, the nations and ethnic groups. And friendship and cooperation based on common goals, the common Marxist-Leninist ideology and the tasks involved in the building of communism are the essence of these interrelations.

It would be incorrect, however, to believe that the Soviet people as a new historical community have acquired certain specific ethnic features, that the formation of this community means the creation of a new nation, that nations and nationalities will disappear as a result of the development and strengthening of this unity.

In fact, the Soviet people are not a special ethnic, national community of people but a social and international community.

We should remember in this connection V.I. Lenin's statement that the international cannot but be national, that international unity is impossible without national components, without the nations and ethnic groups comprising it.

The two main trends--the prospering and drawing together of the nations--are not isolated and parallel processes, but an interrelated process. The conditions

both for national development and for the drawing together of the nations are created simultaneously on the basis of dialectical interaction. The more precisely defined are the trends of drawing together by the socialist nations, the more fertile is the soil for their development and prospering.

Loyal to the Leninist principles, the Communist Party indoctrinates the Soviet people in a spirit of respect for the national dignity of each individual. It resolutely combats individual manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, insularity or isolation, national egoism or nihilism, the retention of backward ways of life, obsolete customs and traditions. The Georgian Communist Party has passed more than one decree on this matter.

The national question has been totally and finally resolved in our nation for the first time in human history. This does not mean that we have no problems in the area of national relationships, however. They have not been eliminated even in the society of developed socialism. The party delves deeply into these problems and attempts to promptly resolve them.

The Georgian Communist Party has accumulated extensive experience in this area, especially in resolving these problems with proper consideration for the national interests of the Georgian, Abkhaz and Osetian peoples and the Russians, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Ukrainians, Greeks, Jews, Assyrians, Kurds and members of many other peoples residing in Georgia, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and in conformity with the Leninist principles of friendship of peoples.

Decrees passed by the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party on the further development of the economy and culture of the Abkhaz ASSR and decrees passed by the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party and the republic's Council of Ministers on the Adzhar ASSR and the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast illustrate this extremely well.

It was stated at the 26th CPSU Congress that in the Union and autonomous republics, where the development of a population of multinational composition is a natural phenomenon, we must have a profound Marxist-Leninist study of the interests, problems and specific characteristics of the native and non-native population and the resolution of pressing issues based on the principles of the party's Leninist national policy. The growth of the international function of national statehood is one guarantee of this. It calls for the complete realization of the interests also of the non-native population in the area of language, culture, way of life and so forth, based on the demands contained in the constitutions of the USSR, Union and autonomous republics.

We are all familiar with the measures effected in this area by the Georgian Communist Party, especially after the CPSU Central Committee passed the decree on the Tbilisi party gorkom, although we still have a great deal to do in this area.

The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist national state, international in nature, which equally expresses the interests of the native and the non-native population.

Georgia was multinational even before the victory for Soviet power. Its multinational character has become truly international during the years of socialist

development. Today members of almost all the nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet nation live here. The republic's multinational nature does not mean the confinement of the national interests of the peoples who have long lived here, however. On the contrary, the best possible conditions have been created in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic for the national self-expression of all the peoples, for their economic and cultural improvement. The national energy of the peoples is serving the interests of prosperity for the multinational socialist homeland.

The further strengthening and development of Leninist fraternity and friendship of the peoples of Georgia, the Transcaucasus and the Caucasus is an object of special concern for the Georgian Communist Party.

The friendship of peoples of the Caucasus and the Transcaucasus is deeply rooted in history.

The works of the land of those brilliant thinkers Gyandzhevi and Fizuli Nizami, the land of the folk hero Ker-ogly, "black gold," the fiery land of Azerbaijan, the land of the legendary 26 commissars, for which Azizbekov, Shaumyan, Dzhaparidze and Fioletov, the best sons of Russia and the Transcaucasus, is near and dear to all Georgians today, to every Soviet person. Georgians are living and building a bright future in Azerbaijan today, together with representatives of many other peoples.

For centuries the Azerbaijanis and Georgians fought side by side against foreign domination and jointly engaged in a selfless struggle for their freedom and happiness.

Azerbaijan is a country with an ancient culture.

Azerbaijan was never before as regenerated, strong and prosperous as it is today, however. Azerbaijan's economy and culture flourished to an unprecedented degree following its unification with Russia, during the years of Soviet power.

The revolutionary and internationalist traditions of Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan, are well known. It is one of the most important centers of the Russian revolutionary movement. Baku's international proletariat set a great example of legendary heroism and selflessness for the international working class. Baku's role as the revolutionary workshop of friendship of peoples of the Transcaucasus is known throughout the land.

Fraternal Hayasdan the people of Sasunets and Abovyan, Ovanes Tumanyan and Yegish Charenets, Avetik Isaakyan and Matriros Sar'yan, beautiful and courageous like the Sevan and Ararat, our brother and good neighbor, created a forepost over the centuries, together with Russia and Georgia, here in Hither Asia, in a struggle to the death against foreign enslavers.

Abovyan's "The Wounds of Armenia" ached in the Georgians throughout the centuries, just as the Armenians shared the "Troubles of Kartli."

The rescue of Noah's Ark at the top of Ararat is a legend. The saving of the Armenian people themselves, who were constantly engaged in bloody wars, is a miracle surpassing that biblical legend. This miracle was performed by the heroic Armenians thanks to the fraternal assistance of the great Russian people.

The Georgians and Armenians had fraternal and friendly relations long before the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, but that historic treaty elevated relations between our peoples to a new and higher level.

The workers of Soviet Georgia are happy for Soviet Armenia's successes in all areas of its economy and culture. Fraternal Armenia has thrived to an unprecedented degree during the years of Soviet power in the fraternal family of peoples welded together by Leninist friendship.

History forgets nothing. It remembers everything.

Tbilisi, the heart of Georgia, has long been a historical city of fraternity and friendship of peoples of the Caucasus and the Transcaucasus. In the 19th century, after Georgia and the Caucasus joined Russia, Tbilisi became the administrative center of the Transcaucasus and the Caucasus. Later, Tbilisi became the center of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, a city of fraternity and friendship of peoples.

Today Tbilisi is the capital of Soviet Georgia. A capital is an element of a state formation and fulfills its function in the life of the republic, directing the processes of economic and cultural development.

Tbilisi is, has always been and will continue to be an international city not only because of the multinational makeup of its population, but primarily because of its international spirit.

The great Azerbaijan poet Vagif, the great writer and philosopher Mirza Fatali Akhundov, the great Armenian writers Ovanes Tumanyan and Gabriel Sundukyants performed their creative work in Tbilisi. A bard of enormous unique talent, Sayat-Nova, celebrated the friendship of peoples of the Transcaucasus there in the Georgian, Armenian and Azeri languages. Dmitri Gulia, famous son of the Abkhaz people, lived in Tbilisi. Kosta Khetagurov was linked with Tbilisi.

The names of Vakhtang Gorgasali and David the Builder, Tamar and Rustaveli, Ilya Chavchavadze and Akaki Tsereteli, Vazha Pshavela, Galaktion Tabidze, Ivane Dzhavakhishvili and Niko Muskhelishvili, prominent scientists, writers and artists, are inseparably linked with Tbilisi.

The warmth of friendship has always been preserved in the heart of Tbilisi. This is why it was named "Tbilisi," which means "Warm City." The chalice in the hands of Mother-Georgia is a symbol of this warmth. Tbilisi has always staunchly fought the enemy. And the sword in the hands of Mother-Georgia is a symbol of this struggle.

Tbilisi is a city of friendship and fraternity. The dust of Aleksandr Sergeyevich Griboyedov, brilliant Russian writer and diplomat, rests on Mount Mtatsminda, in our national pantheon. His love for Nina Chavchavadze is an eternal symbol of the friendship and fraternity of the Russian and Georgian peoples.

Tbilisi carefully preserves the legacy of many brilliant sons of the Soviet people. And we are glad that worthy representatives of the fraternal republics are coming to Tbilisi to join in our celebration of friendship.

The sunshine of Leninist friendship and fraternity of peoples lights the way for all of us.

Three autonomous formations--the Abkhaz ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR and the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast--are constitutionally a part of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Abkhaz ASSR is the socialist state of the Abkhaz people and representatives of the 70 nations and nationalities residing in the autonomous republic. It is a classic example of the benefits provided the small nations by the October Revolution, of how the Communist Party has implemented the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the national question.

The friendship between the Georgian and the Abkhaz peoples developed over the centuries in the struggle against a common enemy.

The heroic history of both peoples was born over a period of millennia in the process of intensive economic, political and cultural relations.

Many exciting documents and works of Georgian literature are devoted to the Abkhaz people, just as Abkhaz literature contains many works on the Georgian people.

Freedom-loving, talented, tempered in battles fought for the homeland and devoted to friendship and fraternity, the Abkhaz people have fought for millennia along with the Georgian people for a better future.

The Georgian and Abkhaz peoples have been together in both joy and sorrow.

At one time the bitter fate of the Abkhaz people was (makhadzhirstvo), the mass, mainly forced, resettlement of the Abkhaz in Turkey. Georgian patriots and public figures, like progressive Russian people, suffered greatly because of this tragedy of the Abkhaz people and supported the Abkhaz brothers.

Ilya Chavchavadze, Akaki Tsereteli and Georgi Shervashidze, great sons of the Georgian and Abkhaz peoples, set classic examples of friendship between the Georgians and the Abkhaz in the 19th century, as did Sergo Ordzhonikidze and Nestor Lakova, Galaktion Tabidze and Dmitri Gulia, and others in the 20th century.

From such examples in history we must learn the science and the art of further strengthening friendship and fraternity of peoples.

Today's celebration, the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, is a holiday also for the Abkhaz people. It is a celebration of the establishment of kinship forever between the Georgian and Abkhaz brothers and the Russian people.

Adzharia is flourishing and developing as part of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic. It is a socialist state, the creation of which would have been impossible if Georgia had not joined Russia, since the liberation of Adzharia, the most ancient land of Georgia, from the foreign invaders was only made possible by the force of Russian weapons and the invincible army. This is one thing.

In the second place, the Adzhar ASSR was created as a result of the October Revolution, in order that this ancient part of Georgia could overcome the feudal backwardness and alien customs forced upon it, as rapidly as possible, complete the process of ethnic consolidation within the shortest possible time and accelerate its economic and cultural development.

The achievements of the Adzhar ASSR's economy and culture are well known today.

It is symbolic that Adzharia is almost simultaneously commemorating the 100th anniversary of its liberation from foreign enslavers and the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk.

The prospering of Adzharia is the most graphic example of the benefits afforded the Georgian people by their fraternity and friendship with the great Russian people.

The South Osetian Autonomous Oblast is a completely equal, autonomous formation within Soviet Georgia.

The history of fraternity and friendship between the Georgian and Osetian peoples goes back many centuries.

North Osetia linked its destiny with Russia earlier than Georgia.

The Georgian people have great respect for the history and culture of the Osetian people, tempered in many centuries of fighting to protect the homeland, freedom-loving, courageous, industrious and talented, and for the friendship and fraternity with the people of Kosta Khetagurov.

Soviet Iryston, region of great revolutionary, labor and internationalist traditions, untamed as the peaks of the caucasus, heroic as the (nartskiy) epos, flourishes in the sunshine of friendship of peoples. From time immemorial the Osetian people have been linked with the Georgian people by ethnic, political, cultural and economic relations, a fact reflected in the Georgian and Osetian historical sources, in science, literature and art.

Socialism has made all the dreams of the Osetian people a reality. The Osetian people are building a bright future with the fraternal assistance and the support of Russians, Georgians and all the peoples of our nation.

The 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk is a celebration for the workers of all three autonomous formations in the republic: the Abkhaz ASSR, the Adzhar ASSR and the South Osetian Autonomous Oblast. This is our common, national holiday.

"The indoctrination of the Soviet people in a spirit of mutual respect and friendship of all the country's nations and ethnic groups, love for their Soviet homeland, internationalism and solidarity with the workers of other nations," Yu.V. Andropov has said, "is a permanent task of unsurpassed importance. All the party and Komsomol organizations, the soviets and trade unions and our Armed Forces, which have always been a good school of internationalism, are called upon to accomplish this task. This should be the daily concern of all the nation's educational institutions."

The Soviet Army and Navy and the cooperation between fightingmen of the Red Banner Transcaucasus Military and Border Districts and the workers of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia have become a real school of international indoctrination for the masses.

The Georgian people and the peoples of the Transcaucasus know that the Russian weapon and the Russian soldier have been unconquerable throughout the centuries, that the Russian army saved them from disaster.

Following the victory of the October Revolution, the 11th Army came to the assistance of the peoples of the Transcaucasus. The 11th Revolutionary Army was one of the main factors behind the victory and build-up of Soviet power in Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. The fightingmen of the Transcaucasus Military and Border Districts are the direct heirs to the revolutionary, internationalist and combat traditions of the 11th Army.

Today they are steadfastly guarding the security of the Soviet people and the Soviet state, guarding peace on earth.

We are expected to continue to strengthen the unity of the army and the people on the basis of patriotism and Soviet internationalism, on the basis of Lenin's immortal concepts. This is especially important for us, since the republic has a common border with one of the NATO nations. We must constantly enhance the political vigilance of the masses and guard the conquests of the revolution as our most precious possession, including the friendship of peoples bequeathed to us by Lenin, one of the greatest conquests in human history.

At the same time, we declare that the Georgian people, like all the Soviet people, want to be friends with and cooperate with the neighboring Turkish people, as well as the Iranian people, on the basis of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence. Our people fervently welcomed the overthrow of the reactionary regimes of the shahs and sultans by the peoples of Iran and Turkey.

Russia brought peace to much-suffering Georgia, which had experienced a thousand wars.

Peace has reigned in the Georgian land for almost 2 centuries.

Peace is the cherished dream of all nations and people of good will of all times. The struggle for peace is one of the main tasks of the contemporary era. Mankind has only one choice: peace or global nuclear catastrophe!

The Leninist foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a policy of peaceful coexistence. This is thoroughly demonstrated and clearly set forth in the well known Declaration of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov.

This certainly does not mean, however, that our enemies can take advantage of the situation and force their unrealistic decisions upon us. The USSR's firm position in this matter was also convincingly confirmed in Comrade Yu.V. Andropov's answers to questions posed by the newspaper PRAVDA.

The workers of Soviet Georgia and the members of all nations and ethnic groups residing in our republic fervently support the Communist Party's Leninist foreign and domestic policy and the program for a peace offensive and the protection of peace worked out by the party. The Soviet people are well aware that the contribution which they are making to the enhancement of our nation's economic strength and its defense capability with their creative labor, by strengthening discipline and enhancing political vigilance, is at the same time a contribution to the cause of protecting peace.

A developed socialist society has now been developed in Georgia, as it has throughout the Soviet Union. Georgia is sacredly fulfilling its patriotic and internationalist mission in the Leninist socialist family of peoples.

The all-conquering principles of Marxism-Leninism are illuminating the path to the future for our people.

Lenin and Leninism have been, are and will continue to be a guarantee of all victories for the workers of Soviet Georgia.

Lenin and Georgia constitute an inexhaustible subject. Leaf through the first volumes of Lenin's works. You will find there brilliant thoughts of the young revolutionary Vladimir Ul'yanov on Georgia. Leaf through Lenin's last writings. There you will find the last lines written by that titan of world revolutionary thinking and brilliant leader of the world proletariat, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. They are devoted to Georgia.

The great Lenin thought about Georgia during the last days of his life.... How exciting that historical fact, and how much it says!

Soviet Georgia will always be true to Lenin's principles.

Georgia's workers successfully accomplished the assignments for the 9th and 10th five-year plans and are fulfilling plans for the 11th five-year period.

It was stated at the 26th CPSU Congress that the Georgian Communist Party has brought about a considerable acceleration of rates of economic and social development for the republic. Georgia's accomplishments were especially underscored at the June 1983 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The historical experience of republics of the Soviet Union, including Soviet Georgia, has convinced us once again that the real prospering of nations is only possible within the fraternal socialist family of the builders of a communist society and not in a situation of national separation and isolation.



During the past 10 or 11 years, as we have already mentioned, the CPSU Central Committee has passed seven fundamental decrees: On the Work of the Tbilisi Party Gorkom, On the Development of Georgia's Economy, On the Work of Georgia's Party Organization, and on a large number of other major issues. These marked a new stage in the history of Soviet Georgia and its communist party.

This stage has brought an acceleration both of material production and in the area of spiritual values, both in the construction of the materials and equipment base for developed socialism and in the development of socialist social relations into communist relations and the development of the new man--the builder of communism.

Each of the republic's workers receives the benefits of Leninist friendship of peoples and socialist internationalism every day.

To commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk more than 40 Union ministries and departments issued orders and adopted decisions of the collegiums, the purpose of which is to further improve Georgia's economy and culture. This is an unprecedented development in the life of Soviet Georgia.

All of the republic's workers express their fervent gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo and the government of the Soviet Union for their Leninist concern for the development of Soviet Georgia's economy and culture.

The anniversary session of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, held in Tbilisi and dedicated to the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk, was an event of great ideological and political importance. This session scientifically assessed and summarized the 200-year history of friendship between the Russian and Georgian peoples.

Extremely significant and large-scale events preceded our celebration today. Days of Georgian Literature and Art were held in June of this year in the RSFSR, and Days of Literature and Art of the RSFSR ended quite recently in Georgia. These two important activities will unquestionably assume a worthy place in the chronicle of Soviet culture as yet another demonstration of the Leninist national policy, as a triumph of true, great art.

Georgian cultural figures were greeted with sincere happiness in Moscow, the capital of our homeland, in Leningrad, the city of the October Revolution, in Sverdlovsk, the center of Ural industry, in ancient Vladimir and in neighboring Stavropol, near which the historic treaty was signed at the Georgiyevsk Fortress.

The workers of our republic, in turn, have received world-renowned masters of Russian literature and art with enormous enthusiasm.

These days are unforgettable, since friendship, fraternity and creativity form their solid and unshakeable foundation, and this foundation could only be created by socialism.

During preparations for the anniversary the Georgian Military Road, the nation's road of salvation, became a monument to the friendship of peoples.

We know that all of Soviet Georgia's achievements in its economy and culture were made possible by that long historical path traveled by Georgia since the signing of the Treaty of Georgiyevsk and by those blessings introduced to it by the first manifesto of fraternity and friendship between the Russian and Georgian peoples during the past 2 centuries in Georgia's history.

Eight centuries ago the brilliant Shota Rustaveli said the following:

"He who does not seek a friend is his own enemy."

This aphorism expresses the national creed of the Georgian people.

In 1783 the foundation was laid for the eternal, inviolable fraternity of the Russian and Georgian peoples.

The Great October Socialist Revolution united for all times the destinies of more than 100 nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet Union into a single historical, social and international community--the Soviet people. The Georgian people are an inseparable, organic part of this union, as are all the Soviet peoples.

Soviet Georgia today is building the most just society in the history of mankind--communism--in the fraternal family of free nations.

They link all their victories with the great Leninist party, with the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist doctrine, friendship of peoples and proletarian, socialist internationalism.

May our path into the future always be illuminated by the immortal principles of Leninist friendship of peoples!

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, of socialist internationalism!

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## NATIONAL

### SURVEYS OF PUBLIC TASTE IN POPULAR LITERATURE

#### Readers React to 1982 Critique

Moscow YUNOST' in Russian No 10, Oct 83 (signed to press 7 Sep 83) pp 84-87

[Article by Semen Shurtakov: "Tell Me What You Read..."]

[Text] Letters from readers responding to the article "What and How We Read" (YUNOST', No 10, 1982) quite cogently testify that the issue of reading standards is acquiring increasing significance in our time and is a matter of concern to the broadest segments of our public, and not just to librarians. In addition to responses from these abovementioned librarians, the editors received letters from teachers and students, medical personnel and seamen, workers and engineers, people of the most varied occupations and equally varied reading tastes and preferences.

It would be impossible to reprint each letter and comment on each even in brief. This article will have to be confined to excerpts from the most characteristic responses that pertained to the main topic of discussion. Furthermore, to avoid jumping from one subject to another, it would be best to divide the responses into those which partially or wholly agreed with the author of the article and those which supplemented his remarks or disagreed with them.

Let us begin with the first category.

"I read the article 'What and How We Read' and wanted to share my impressions of what I had read," writes Petr Sverdlenko, a seaman from Poti. "I graduated from school 5 years ago. Although we seemed to have a good literature instructor, I emerged from the school without any kind of literary taste. Just as the readers you discussed, I was willing to consume 'pulp' endlessly, in any quantity. Mysteries and science fiction were my main reading material. But as the years went by, I began to distinguish the bad from the good. Now I cannot even understand how I could have found the works of Dostoyevskiy, Tolstoy, Pushkin and Shakespeare so loathsome; how I did not realize that books should not simply be devoured, but that they should be analyzed and that I should be enriched by the experience. And as for poetry! People who read poetry puzzled me. Now it is even hard to imagine that I might never have read my current favorite, Fedor Ivanovich Tyutchev! His poems are like friends to me, and they give me help and consolation. Now I have the need to share my thoughts with someone every time I finish a book...."

Nurse Nadezhda Andriyashkina from Pushkino also writes about the school's unfortunate failure to cultivate a taste for reading or for literature in general.

"I was quite impressed by the article. I agree with almost everything you said. I realize how serious and necessary the questions you have asked us readers are. But after all, answers to these questions are also necessary. Before high reading standards can be demanded from us, the majority of readers, these standards must be taught. But the fact is that literature classes only discourage people from reading the classics.

"I will tell you a little about myself. I liked literature very much and I was a good student. But after all, besides literary works there was the literature textbook. And the interesting fact is that you can become an outstanding student without reading a single work if you read the literature textbook from cover to cover. I agree completely with the letter writers who were unanimous in their opinion that literature is taught badly in the schools. As I see it, the most important part of reading is the ability to think and feel along with the heroes, have a sense of the beautiful and live the hero's life along with him. But in a textbook everything is neatly arranged, there is no need to think, and God help the schoolgirl who says that she likes Ellen very much and that it is not her fault that she was born and raised in a society where all relations are based on money, and if she had been born in our time she would have become an actress, an announcer or a stewardess. A friend of mine who did this naturally received a poor grade. And when she said that marriages of convenience exist even in our day, the zealous teacher called her parents to the school so that she could scold them for the 'amoral upbringing of their daughter...'"

At the end of her long letter the reader concludes that "the low level of cultural education is the cause of the 'book boom' and the success of substandard literature."

The important issue of public library acquisitions was discussed in other letters. The chronic poverty of library collections is regarded by some as one of the reasons for the general enthusiasm for the collection of books and the absolute need to have a home library, which is exacerbating the already pressing problem of "book hunger."

"The composition of public library collections," declares B. A. Smirnova, the librarian of the State Library of the USSR imeni V. I. Lenin, "has a definite influence on public reading habits and ultimately on literary preferences. It is intolerable that the fiction collection in some republics has been reduced by almost half in the past 5-7 years. There has been a corresponding decline in issuance figures. Is it not the writer's public duty to help the public libraries?"

The figures, quite frankly, are disturbing (although I must make the parenthetical statement that it is not quite clear how the writer can or should help the public libraries).

"It was correctly pointed out," librarian B. A. Smirnova goes on to say, "that the universal interest in fiction, which is read by 98 percent of the reading public, should not set our minds at ease. Interest is far from tantamount to a good grasp of literature. What is the main problem? It is not at all the preference for 'substandard' literature instead of 'great' works. Sociologists have noted with amazement that there are virtually no unappealing books; furthermore, readers make positive statements about the best and the most mediocre books simply on the basis of their subject matter. Aesthetic criteria are of no importance. Readers derive only the external layer of facts from a work. Purely cognitive aims are ascribed to artistic literature. It has been discovered that the level of education plays no role in this process. Readers with a higher education (usually not in the liberal arts) approach literary works in a way that differs little even from readers with a partial secondary education. Aesthetic limitations impoverish the reader of artistic literature. It is indicative that poetry ranks next to last among the favorite genres of readers in small towns and rural areas. Obviously, a great part of the blame must be assigned to the schools, and this has long been a matter of concern to our public...."

You have probably already noticed something: Regardless of the subject matter of the letters, regardless of the approach their authors take to this subject matter, as soon as the discussion turns to reading standards, to their fairly low level, all the writers agree that the individual should learn to relate to books in school and that the school does not perform this vital function.

Here, however, I would like to make one important statement.

When we make all of these harsh statements about the schools, we should probably remember that there is a middleman, namely the textbook, between the teacher and the student. Is it fair to reproach the teacher for various types of teaching methods, reflecting something or other, when he takes these methods straight from the textbook?! Perhaps a large share (we will not call it blame; we will use a milder term) of the responsibility should be assigned to the USSR Ministry of Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, under whose supervision millions of copies of these textbooks are written and printed....

Here is another letter.

"The writer's remarks about the range of reading material in Issue No 10 of YUNOST' must certainly have aroused the interest of many readers. After all, each individual must deal with the problem of the quality of his reading material," writes Vladimir Polikarpov from Almalyk. "I did not like my literature teacher. She was an ordinary indifferent functionary who earned her living by cramming our heads full of unfortunate images. Today a copy of L. Tolstoy's 'Detstvo, otrochestvo, yunost'' [Childhood, Adolescence, Youth] came into my hands quite by accident. It is simply amazing how contemporary the great writer's thoughts seemed to me. It has been a long time since I derived so much pleasure from reading...."

Again, we naturally wonder where, if not in school, a person should become acquainted with Tolstoy's prose. And is it not in school that each of us should have derived pleasure from reading for the first time?

Of course, the schools are not solely to blame for the absence of a taste for truly artistic literature in many young readers. There are many reasons for this. The just quoted V. Polikarpov and B. A. Smirnova feel that some of the blame should be assumed by critics, who are still doing poorly in guiding the general reading public through the sea of books.

"Professional critics do not take much trouble to understand the reader's mind, say absolutely nothing about specific flaws in literary style and impose their own 'vision' of literary images on the reader" (V. Polikarpov).

"Although the number of constant readers of fiction exceeds half of the total number, critics address a small circle of professional people and the highly skilled 'elite.' Some have even declared that criticism should not be the 'efficient guide of poorly trained readers,' apparently not realizing that tens of millions need help" (B. A. Smirnova).

We could continue to quote from letters in which readers cite examples from their own personal experience to corroborate statements made in the article "What and How We Read." But this would lead to the automatic repetition of what was already said in the article. It would probably be better to take a look at letters by those who disagree with the views of the author and argue with him. Some objections are based on misunderstandings or stem from the same kind of superficial and careless reading that was the subject of the article.

But here is one example.

Moscow State University students Kanapin and Stepanov were offended by the author's critical remarks about the abundance of substandard works in the adventure genre, as well as in the science fiction and detective genres. They even felt that the entire article "was an attack on light reading material."

Reader E. Berdiyev from Nebit-Daga agrees with them. He also said that people "should not spend all their time reading serious works. Detective stories and science fiction are also necessary...."

I have long been concerned, and even quite disturbed, by the ratio of "serious" to "light" works in the total reading material of the contemporary reading public, particularly the young readers. Mind you, it disturbs me because the balance is not in favor of "serious" literature, including the classics. "Light" reading prevails. But as soon as you mention this concern at a readers' conference or in a journalistic article, you are accused of a "biased subjective approach" to the matter: Where did you get these data?--they ask--On what sociological research do you base your conclusions? And so forth.

Suspensions and accusations of this kind were voiced this time in the letters of readers N. Grigor'yev, V. Polikarpov and N. Dudnik. And B. A. Smirnova even writes that "S. Shurtakov's data do not agree with sociological research of recent years."

This has put me in an extremely difficult position. I am not capable of conducting research on my own. And my "subjective date," it turns out, "do not agree".... What now?

Right away, as if they had heard about my pitiful position and wanted to bail me out, my fellow townspeople--researchers from the sociological laboratory of Gor'kiy University--conducted this kind of research in the School of Radiophysics and published the results in the oblast Komsomol newspaper. I will cite a few excerpts from this article, refraining--for the sake of complete objectivity!--from any comments whatsoever.

So what does today's "average" student read? Does he read much?

The student in the School of Radiophysics reads 3.5 hours a week. But this is the average statistical student. In fact, one-fifth of the students spend at least an hour reading each day, but almost the same number (16 percent) read less than an hour a week. Of course, no one has set any reading norms, but 5 minutes on Pushkin, on a classic, is probably an insult.

Well, all right, let the student spend 5 minutes with Pushkin. He could read one or two verses in that time. It is the greatest pity, however, that the "average" student does not read Pushkin at all. Just as he does not read Lev Tolstoy or Chekhov.... All of the names of the Russian classics could be listed here. Either he has shuddered at the very thought of the "character of Tat'yana" and statements like "Karenin is the product of his era" ever since his years in school, or he has not been open to Russian literature since that time. In any case, the intellectual radiophysicists do not know much about it and, what is particularly sad, do not want to know any more about it.

The best works of contemporary writers--V. Astaf'yev, V. Rasputin and F. Abramov--were no luckier. They had been read by less than 15 percent of the students who filled out the questionnaires. Of course, much depends on taste. It is possible to love the verses of one poet and be indifferent toward another's works. But the alarming thing is that the same names are on one questionnaire after another. There is some kind of "gentlemen's" list of authors circulated throughout the school. This could hardly be the result solely of common literary preferences.

What does interest the "average" student? His favorite genres (N.B.!) were listed in this order: science fiction, historical novels, detective stories, humor and satire. A look at the borrowers' cards in the university library provides irrefutable proof of this: All of the entries are detective stories, adventure novels and science fiction.

Librarians are disturbed by the "omnivorous" habits of the majority of readers: There are few genuine connoisseurs of science fiction with any taste. The majority read all of the books one after the other, "devouring" them, and are often unable to distinguish between works of real value and "pulp" fiction.

The sociologists' final conclusion was that the majority of students are indiscriminate readers with inferior tastes.

As you can see, my conclusions do not disagree much with these conclusions!

Some people might say: But these are students. Could their reading interests coincide precisely with the interests of other groups in our society?! Perhaps they do not have to coincide completely; deviations are possible. But who would be so bold as to say that these deviations are so great that the situation is radically and fundamentally different in other social groups?!

As if to corroborate the value of science fiction and mysteries, the letters mention the names of such writers as Jules Verne, Herbert Wells, Ivan Yefremov, Ray Bradbury and Conan Doyle. Some readers even added Simenon and Strugatskikh to the list.

Convincing? Not very. These are famous writers, and who does not like them, read them and admire them? In the same way, no one is going to question the validity of the mystery or science fiction as a literary genre. But after all, the article was discussing something else. It said that in the vast sea of books of these genres, which have been published in recent years and will continue to be published in increasing quantities, it is good if one or two out of every ten warrant the attention of the reader.

Incidentally, the same Kanapin and Stepanov admit: "Of course, few people will argue with the statement that works which are not worth the time spent reading them appear quite often in the science fiction genre." This is a tactful statement, but could we say that it refutes the 8:2 ratio? Why could "quite often" not be measured with an 8? And considering the fact that books of these genres have been published not in units, and not in tens, but in hundreds just in recent years, and that their defenders, as if they had come to an agreement in advance, cite--let us leave the classics, such as Jules Verne and Conan Doyle, in peace--just five names, or units, does this not suggest that the number of good books--2 out of 10--has clearly been overstated?!

Here is what could be the most convincing retort to this (although no one mentioned this in the letters): The same thing can be found in ordinary "serious" prose. Here as well, far from all of the books published are of high quality. Nevertheless, in this field we can name, even if we do not list classics, not 5 or 10, but many more first-rate writers, whom the fans of "light reading" do not know and, as we have seen, do not want to know.

P. Sverdlenko, whom we have already mentioned, ends his letter with the exclamation: "I regret the time I wasted reading books which left no trace in my mind. I lost whole years!" Perhaps it is not necessary for people to "spend all their time reading serious works," but it would not hurt some defenders of light genres to listen to this cry from the heart.

Academician S. I. Vavilov once remarked that contemporary man stands before a Himalayan range of libraries, standing like a gold prospector who must find his own nuggets. It seems to me that reading according to a system, even the least rigid one, can be of greater benefit and pleasure. You cannot simply walk up to the Himalayas and begin sampling one pebble at a time, starting from the outer edge--you might never reach the center even if you live 150 years. Dig for your nuggets!



When I was young I had no opportunity to choose my reading material and no one to tell me that some things should be read while others were unnecessary. I read everything that came into my hands. As I later learned, I also lost a great deal of time in vain. It is with a view to this bitter experience that I discuss reading by choice. But this does not mean that I definitely insist on systematic reading. It seemed to reader V. Abibulayeva from Chernyshevskiy that I was insisting on this, and she expressed her opinion:

"'What should be read?'--you ask. But what about Gor'kiy? Our great Gor'kiy! You remember that he read everything he could find and he became a writer, using the language of his works, not only because he was a vagabond."

If this argument seems convincing to someone (he read everything he could find and became a writer), I will not dispute the matter. As they say, read to your heart's content and you may become another Gor'kiy....

Some readers--and V. Abibulayeva among them--somehow interpreted my criticism as "a lack of respect for the reader." This is a serious accusation and it requires a more detailed response.

I will remind you that an essay I wrote about Lenin's family tree on his father's side was once published in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. One reader decided to "check" the age of Vladimir Il'ich's grandfather. When he compared the entries in the so-called auditing records (corresponding to our population censuses), he found that everything did not fit to a T, and he wrote an irate letter-article with the satirical title "How the Author Stabbed Himself." But it is no secret that even our censuses are not based on birth certificates, but on words. Is it necessary to be so hard on an old man who stated the wrong year of birth?

It seemed to V. Abibulayeva that I offended and almost insulted the reader with this response. She believes that he was not being hard on the 70-year-old man, but on the author of the article. B. A. Smirnova writes that in his response to the hair-splitting reader, the author "did not respect his desire to analyze what he had read and to take a discerning approach to it, which deserves praise as an indisputable sign of rising reading standards." It turns out that this reader, who was striving for comprehension, deserves praise instead of a reprimand!

But after all, it should be obvious that if an author quotes a certain document and something in it "does not tally," the author is not to blame, and he cannot be blamed. Only the accuracy of the document's reproduction can be questioned. But this reader was delighted because he had "caught" the author in an error, and not because he doubted the accuracy of the quotation. This dubious pleasure attested to indifference toward the remarkable fact that these most valuable documents had been unearthed (what kind of comprehension does this entail?!). And how can this be called "an indisputable sign of rising reading standards"?

V. Abibulayeva also defends the reader with the "discerning approach," stating that a reader who argues with an author is a thinking reader. I dare say that

this is not necessarily true. "It is a pity that there is no chance to argue with Goethe," the same V. Abibulayeva writes in another part of her verbose letter. But it seems to me that a serious, thinking reader would not jump at the chance to argue with Goethe. He would probably try to understand him and comprehend his ideas first.

As for the reader for whom a lack of respect was allegedly displayed, fourth-year student R. Maksimenko from the Moscow Hydrometeorology Tekhnikum is of another opinion.

"I agree wholeheartedly with the author," he writes in his letter. "I am deeply grateful to him for his apt dissection of the vulgar and the ignorant. I think that they will sense their ignorance when they read these words. They will be ashamed of themselves and of other such 'lovers' of literature."

I feel that this statement is too strong. In the first place, it is naive to believe that the ignorant can feel ignorant. This is more likely to happen to an intelligent person. In the second place, I had no intention of "dissecting" anyone. I had a much more modest aim: I invited the readers of the magazine to take a look at their reading material with me and to consider what they had read. I tried to suggest--I do not know how successful I was--that reading is an art and that the mastery of this art is not a simple matter. And there is nothing to be ashamed of in admitting (as N. Andriyashkina, for example, does) that many of us have not reached the heights of brilliance in this art. Being able to write in rhyme and being a poet are not the same thing. In the same way, being able to read is not the same as being a reader.

"Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you who you are" is the old saying. As soon as we regard books as our good friends, the saying could be reworded: Tell me what you read and I will tell you who you are....

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#### Popular Reading Standards Debated

Moscow YUNOST' in Russian No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 15 Sep 83) pp 81-88

[Article by Semen Shurtakov: "How and What We Read"]

[Excerpts] They say that our people read more than any other people in the world, and we are legitimately proud of this. Why not? We can and should be proud of this. But the question of whether we should sit back smugly just because almost all of us read--from Pioneers to pensioners--is quite a different matter. As we know, even Gogol's Petrushka read.... For this reason, whenever the discussion turns to the "reading public," the main emphasis and most of our attention, it seems to me, should have been transferred long ago from reading as such to the specific individual who reads and to what and how he reads. When we consider this, we learn that the situation is not as simple and not as marvelous as it seems.

First we will talk about what we read.

In this case, when I use the somewhat abstract term "we" I am not referring to all readers in general, but only to a specific segment of the reading public--the subsequent discussion will pinpoint it.

I have before me a letter from a rural community in Pskov Oblast. It says that far from all rural libraries have books by Sholokhov, Leonov, Tvardovskiy and other Soviet classics, and they have few of the Russian classics of the 19th and 20th centuries. Of course, this is a pity. But this is a special problem and it requires special discussion. Pskov Oblast is not the Kuban Lowland; the large number of small villages and rural communities in Russia's central belt complicates the already complicated process of supplying libraries with books. In large settlements, on the other hand, there are many libraries with a wide range of books.

But here is what I was told by a writer from the Kuban Lowland who had visited more than 10 large villages in his area one summer. He was particularly interested in what people were reading and which were the most and least frequently borrowed books. The situation turned out to be quite uniform and depressing: Rural youth (representing the overwhelming majority of readers) was most eager to read detective stories, also known as "spy" literature, and substandard science fiction (it is no secret that a person who tries to enumerate the truly good books in this genre counts up to two and finds he has gone too far), as well as books "about war" (meaning so-called war adventure stories). The classics, both prerevolutionary Russian and Soviet, quietly collect dust on library shelves.

Is it possible that the writer was "unlucky" and went to all the "wrong" villages?

Each year I spend the summer in my native village in the south of Gorkiy Oblast. The very next year when I went there, I did the same thing as my Kuban colleague: I tried to find out what my townspeople were reading.

I cannot say that I visited, as the saying goes, seven and a half villages; I only went to two rural libraries and one rayon library. But is it quantity that matters? After all, I was not interested in the nuances of literary taste; I was not trying to find out which writers are read the most or the least. I was interested in the ratio of real literature to what we call pulp fiction.

In one library I asked to see the borrowers' cards. In another I simply walked down the aisles and pulled out the most worn, most dog-eared volumes, some which had been handled so much that it was difficult to make out the title and the author's name.

And what were these books?

Some, although not many, were classic works of literature: either those which are "gone over" in school or those which were issued 20, 30 or more years ago and were the only copy of the book in the library. How could these not become frayed? But most often I was holding books "about spies," "about war," "about

police" and so-called science fiction (why so-called, you may ask. Because in 8 or 9 out of every 10 of these books, there is usually neither science nor fiction. After all, just because the author seats his heroes, Ben and Bol, in a photon rocket and sends them to another galaxy and then forces them to converse with one another in pseudo-scientific terms--but actually gibberish--along the way, does this make the book a work of science fiction?).

Therefore, the ratio in question was, alas, not in favor of truly artistic literature in any of the three libraries.

Of course, comforting arguments can be found, like the statement that since rural cultural standards are much lower than urban ones, the rural reader knows less about books. Other excuses can also be invented.

But is it necessary to seek or invent reasons?

Who said that the overall situation in urban libraries is radically different from the one in rural areas? Who said that the classics are always "out" in the cities while pulp literature is gathering dust on the shelves? Walk into any urban library, take a look at the borrowers' cards or walk up to the shelves and "pull out" the most worn volumes, as I did, and you will find that the ratio of genuine literature, or what some people might call high literature, to merely "readable" works will be in the latter's favor with only rare exceptions.

Another pertinent aspect of this discussion is that books and book time (that is, the time set aside for reading) have long been the target of a massive assault by forms of culture "related" to literature--movies, radio and television. Whereas the book was once almost the only, and for many people the only, window to the outside world, now there are so many of these windows. Television alone takes up a great deal of time. But after all, there are also the theater and the cinema, all sorts of film marathons and discotheques, and you name it.... All of these require time, but the number of hours in the day has not increased.

There is the time that is imperiously taken away from books by their younger and bolder "relatives." Besides this, we must bear in mind that they have a complex relationship to books, and not always the best one. It is wonderful when a master of the verbal art, a famous radio or television actor, recites the finest phrases. It is fine when we see the film version of a literary masterpiece (although we must admit that literary masterpieces do not become masterpieces of film that often) in a movie theater or on the blue (and now even technicolor) TV screen. But so many of our movies and television programs are designed purely as a diversion! On the radio there are now 25 minutes of musical diversion for each 5 minutes of news. And what about all of the sports on television! It would be naive to think that this does not have a direct effect on literature and does not pertain to it in any way. It does, and how! Can you believe that after 2 hours of fast and furious hockey or soccer on TV, a person, especially a young one, will sit down to read "Anna Karenina" or "Russkiy les" [Russian Forest]? He will not. And after he has enjoyed the deafening rhythms of some kind of popular music or watched an intriguing and entertaining detective movie, he will not reach out for

"Mertvyye dushi" [Dead Souls] or "Oblomov" ("It is boring, there is not enough action and it is tedious!"), but for equally entertaining and exciting pulp literature....

But this is a separate topic and we will only mention it, without attempting any kind of thorough analysis. We will simply make one necessary clarifying statement to avoid false impressions.

Whenever people say that many young readers prefer "light" genres to "serious" literature, we all simultaneously hasten to accuse youth of a shortage of real taste or of underdeveloped and inferior taste. But is this true? Is it fair? Is the older generation to blame because it did not instill and develop this good taste? And do writers play such a neutral and blameless role in the process when they overload book shelves with all types of substandard pulp fiction and train the young reader to be content with detective mush instead of writing books which will cultivate a taste for truly artistic literature?

But now we will return to the beginning of our discussion.

Up close, the picture is not as bright as it seemed.

Is there any point in asking what kind of books a person can read when he is on the subway escalator, standing in line or riding on a crowded bus? In general, he can read anything--even "Faust" or "Brat'ya Karamazovy" [The Brothers Karamazov]--but will he understand much? The details of a detective's surveillance or apprehension of a suspect, however, can be grasped even on a crowded bus: One hand on the rail and the other holding the book--this is quite comfortable, interesting and, what is most important, completely comprehensible!

Perhaps I have laid it on too thick? Let us take a closer look.

The foundations of spiritual communication with books are laid in childhood. A love of reading and a taste for good literature are cultivated (or, at any rate, should be cultivated) in the schools. And all of us, including teachers of literature, agree that there is no substitute for reading, that the book is a great force in the moral improvement of the individual, and so forth. This is all true. But as soon as LITERATURNAYA GAZETA began to discuss literature in the schools, stacks of letters began to arrive, in which.... Actually, it would be better to quote from some of these letters.

Only in one single letter, from a former school director who is now retired, was it alleged that "literature as an academic subject is taught quite well on the whole. Its prestige is quite high."

Many teachers write the opposite.

"Literature now occupies...one of the lowest positions in the hierarchy of academic subjects and is treated like a poor relative."

"A paradoxical situation has taken shape in the teaching of literature: The number of books warranting study increases with each year, but the hours devoted to the study of literature decrease...."

Could this be the result of the student's primitive interpretation of the classics: "Chatskiy defended the poor" and "Tat'yana was close to the masses, because peasant women were faithful to their husbands"? Or here is an even simpler one: "'Everything about the individual should be beautiful--the face, the thoughts and the clothes.'" It was precisely these words of Gor'kiy's that forced Praskov'ya Yakovlevna to become a seamstress." (This is a new, contemporary interpretation of a classic: It turns out that it can be of invaluable assistance in the choice of a career!)

This student confused Gor'kiy with Chekhov (the quotation, as we know, comes from Chekhov).

Another confuses Dostoyevskiy with Gor'kiy by alleging that "Raskol'nikov killed the old Izergil' woman."

A view of literature through a cinematic prism is also found in school compositions:

"I liked Natasha Rostova very much, especially when she danced with Stierlitz at her first ball."

Some of the writers of these letters say that "the classics are too hard" (this is only half a problem) or that "the classics are boring" (this is a real problem). There were some who went even further.

"The hungry student Raskol'nikov, the oppressed young merchant woman Katerina, the aristocrat Prince Bolkonskiy and the vagabond 'humanist' Luka are infinitely far removed from our own life, which for them, contemporary young men and women, is full of the excitement of a struggle for a new life and full of song. It is much more interesting for them to deal with heroes..."--this is followed by a list of a few contemporary authors who write about youth.

Just try to disagree with the "iron-clad" logic of these statements! Indeed, who needs Dostoyevskiy or Tolstoy today? Can contemporary young men and women, whose life is full of song, understand their frenzied and agonizing search for the meaning of human existence? These obsolete classics should have been "replaced" with juvenile magazine authors long ago!

And you say that I am laying it on too thick!

If the classics are hard and boring and if an easier way must be found, school curricula should probably include only detective and adventure novels. And what would an excellent mark entail? The student would devour a book with some "bite," would retell the plot in class, and the process would be complete....

By discussing the teaching of literature in the schools, we "accidentally" found an explanation, an indirect if not direct one, of why the classics gather dust on library shelves while there is a run on pulp fiction.

Now we will talk about how we read, what we look for in a book and what we find. Actually, we already began this discussion with the last statement about obsolete classics.

This is a much more complicated issue: Library borrowers' cards do not indicate whether the reader liked or disliked the book, whether he took it to heart, as they say, or remained indifferent, whether he understood or did not understand it (although who would admit that he did not?), whether it gave him food for thought, aroused lofty emotions or simply aroused a sense of regret for time wasted.... And it is not even clear who is to blame if a book is not enjoyed, is not moving and does not inspire thought. We should recall Georg Lichtenberg's well-known aphorism: "If there is a hollow thud when the book collides with the head, is it always the book's fault?"

The answer to the question of what the young lover of books reads contained a large portion of the answer to the question of how he reads. Detective stories and science fiction are read, of course, "with interest" or "with great interest," "all at once," "in one gulp," "at one sitting" or are not even read but "devoured." In a week or so, however, the young man does not even remember who was chasing whom for 500 pages, does not remember from which galaxy to which galaxy Ben and Bol were flying in the photon rocket or what they were babbling about on the way--this is not important; the important thing is that the book could be read in one gulp....

The serious reader will not bother with even the most topical chaff and will not carelessly waste his "book time" on all types of "suspect's slip-ups" and "flights to nowhere." And we can assume that most of this far from large segment of the reading public will borrow (or buy) books after a strict process of selection (and not because they were recommended by good old Vas'ka) and will read them, and not devour them. This kind of reader will be fully aware of the author's intention, will notice the more vivid descriptions and events and will evaluate the dialogue correctly. And if he likes the hero, he will not only remember him but will also think about him, "invent" subsequent events in his life and perhaps even "measure" his own life according to the hero's.... When this kind of reader becomes involved in a literary debate, he might write an article as good as other pieces of literary criticism, revealing a refined literary taste and a thorough understanding of the very purpose of literature. In all fairness, it must be said that there are many such intelligent readers among our young people.

Am I contradicting myself? No, this only appears to be a contradiction. I am saying that young people represent the largest group of readers of mass literature. But this certainly does not mean that all of them are satisfied with lightweight, low-grade literature. The young individual and the young reader are not one and the same. After all, the person we call a young novice poet might be well over 40. In just the same way, some of our young people are inexperienced readers who are just starting to swim in the boundless sea of books and often dive in at random, while others are already experienced navigators who possess a compass and can set their own course. They regard a book not as a pleasant diversion, but as a way of finding answers to questions which torment them, a way of gaining a better understanding of the world around them and of themselves in that world and, finally, a way of breathing the fresh alpine air of art of high quality and of reaching spiritual heights.

If a writer inadvertently "expresses" something in a way the reader finds inaccurate, why not do a good deed and advise him to rewrite his story or novel?!

Particularly since this is such a simple matter--just take it and make some changes! Remember that in the postwar years there were thousands of avid fans who earnestly advised Tvardovskiy to "continue" his "Vasiliy Terkin." And they did not simply offer advice, but also sent him outlines with detailed chapter instructions on "Terkin, the Kolkhoz Brigade Leader," "Terkin on the Timber-Raft" and so forth.

Tvardovskiy was not able to answer each letter and had to respond to this advice in the magazine he was then editing. As we know, the poet used tactful irony to reject the advice and suggestions of the readers, regardless of the good intentions on which they were based. But the temptation to tell a writer something is so great that the kind advisers (here I am using the term without any irony), as we can see, have not changed their ways to this day and are not likely to do it soon.

The main reason is the apparent ease with which literature can be interpreted. It would be difficult for us to imagine an ordinary music lover walking up onto the stage after the first performance of a work of music--say a symphony, for example--and delivering a critique. Experts on music generally make these analyses at private gatherings. As far as literature is concerned, however, each individual regards himself as a great expert. After all, everything is so simple here: This character reflects the typical features of one class, that character represents another class, this is a positive character, that is a negative character.... Are students often told that literature is the greatest of the wonders created by man and that, just as any other wonder, it is far from always subject to our hasty interpretations? The mystery of the creation of a work of art, despite all of our awareness of this and that, is still a great mystery. And we should not be sad or bitter when we realize that our hunt has still not turned up the key to it. As soon as the "hunt" is over, new Pushkins and Tolstoys will have nothing to do because brilliant verses and novels will be composed by robots (although this is not likely to happen as long as man does not sink to the level of a robot in his constant progression forward and upward).

The process of mass familiarization with cultural values, particularly literature, is a complicated and sometimes contradictory process. There are no direct connections here: The larger the audience, the greater the number of true connoisseurs; the greater the number of readers, the greater the number of those who comprehend literature. Unfortunately, quantity does not automatically become quality. For this reason, while we are delighting in purely quantitative indicators (everyone reads, from Pioneers to pensioners!), we should also consider how and why they read, what they assimilate from their reading and how they assimilate it.

A discussion of reading standards and of man's spiritual communication with books should probably include a few words about so-called book-collecting.

In recent years the book-collecting epidemic has engulfed the entire country--from capital cities to settlements in the taiga. The witty are already saying that there are more collectors than readers, and there is some truth in this.



Let us consider the young bearded bibliophiles who began collecting books just yesterday but already brag about their thousands of volumes. Let us try to imagine what would happen if they continued living at least as long as they have already lived (and they might still have twice as long to go!) and continued to collect books just as intensively and successfully. The figure would obviously run into tens of thousands, and not thousands!

You might say that this is not a typical example. But it is! There is any number of these bibliophiles or others like them who are engaged in a frenzied search for the books they "need." Understandably, they do not read them--whatever for!--what is important to them is to "have" a specific book. The whole thing takes on absurd proportions and turns into a joke. In the Moscow House of Books I heard a well-dressed woman tell a clerk: "Give me 9 or 10 rubles' worth, please. This one, this one...no, the one next to it, the one with the light-blue binding...."

We write with alarm about "book hunger" and say nothing about the monstrous and deformed features book-collecting has acquired in recent years. If only this were the only splendidly dressed woman who grabs books at random!

We do not even draw distinctions between books for what might be called single or repeated consumption. I will explain what I mean by these conventional terms. There are many good books we read once and will never reread. Would it not be better and wiser to borrow these books from a public library: Take them out, read them and take them back? But when it comes to Pushkin or Yesenin, for example, you cannot run back and forth to the library: Today you read it and tomorrow you want to read it again. These are precisely the books that should probably constitute the basis of our home libraries. After this, make your selections according to your own professional, aesthetic or other interests.

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REGIONAL

SHEVARNADZE ADDRESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION WORKERS' AKTIV

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian, 20 Sep 83 pp 1, 3

[GruzINFORM report on speech by V.A. Shevarnadze, candidate member of Politburo of CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of Central Committee of Communist Party of Georgia, delivered at republic meeting of higher education workers' aktiv in Tbilisi, date unspecified: "Produce Specialists, Educate Citizens"]

[Text] Not a single sector of the republic's economy or culture exists that is not organically connected to higher school, with its training of cadres or with its scientific potential. For this reason, the republic meeting of the higher-education workers' aktiv, held in Tbilisi, went beyond the limits of narrow departmental interests. But the conference [sic] in terms of level, scale and prospects of its development was not organically connected [sic] to a whole series of ideological-educational processes taking place in the republic.

In discussing the tasks of higher school of Georgian SSR in the light of the decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the meeting's participants raised questions directly connected to the burning and acute problems of the republic's social construction.

The speech of candidate member of Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia V.A. Shevarnadze, the speech of Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia G.N. Yenukidze, the report of Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of Georgian SSR D.I. Chkhikvishvili and the speeches of other participants of the meeting provided a deep analysis of the work of the republic's higher educational institutions relating to the training of highly qualified specialists for the country's national economy, the forming of their ideological-political and moral qualities and an active life position and the training of genuine fighters for the cause of the party, the state and the people.

At the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Yu.V. Andropov noted that the party is striving to see to it that a person among us is

brought up not simply as a bearer of a certain amount of knowledge but first and foremost as a citizen of socialist society, an active builder of communism with ideological principles, morals and interests and a high standard of labor and behavior inherent in him. This definition clearly expresses the place of higher school in the structure of public life and its main social mission.

At the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the current stage of the country's development was defined as the perfecting stage of developed, mature socialism. And this means the continuing rise of our Motherland's economic potential, accelerated development of productive forces on the basis of the grandiose achievements of the present scientific-technical revolution, the proper organization of introduction of these achievements into practice and further development of production relationships. The historical experience of our party testifies that under these conditions involving the solution of such important and broadly planned political and economic tasks ideological work is transformed into a very great factor. It shows people the urgent problems of social practice and ways of solving them.

It is impossible, however, to solve problems of improvement of ideological work without deeply and comprehensively analyzing the basis on which it is founded. This principle was the keynote of the entire work of the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. Its materials serve as a good basis for the further development of science, scientific-technical progress and for the education of the new breed of individual.

The question of questions is the matter of reorganization of all work in the field of formation of a world outlook in young people. It is necessary to reexamine many things in the light of the decisions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and to approach in a new way questions of formation of a communist world outlook among the young generation as well as to raise work to the level of the present-day requirements of the party.

In the history of mankind there has not been a single society nor a single leadership of society which has not been concerned with the forming of a world outlook among young people in order to use them for its class interests. The Communist Party is the only party in the world which subordinates education of the youth to the realization of mankind's bright dream of building communist society. Much is being done in our country for the forming of a communist world outlook among youth.

At the same time, it must be clearly understood that even the slightest relaxation of attention in educational work is fraught with serious consequences. Deeply realizing the importance of the problem, the republican party organization conducts work with young people from realistic positions while taking into consideration the special features and specific character of our life. It organizes candid dialogues with them on many problems without bypassing difficult elements. And in this matter, valuable experience has been gained. But at times educational work is conducted formally, in a stereotyped manner, in a form and with a content that does not touch the soul of a young person and does not reach his heart or his consciousness.

Now the discussion is about the need of secondary-school reform. To a certain extent this also applies to higher school. But how should the social sciences be taught better, how should young people master them, how should this work be organized on a foundation where it responds to the wishes of young people and is carried out on a contemporary level?

Today it is impossible to work with young people with those methods that we used in teaching 20-25, even 5 years ago, with the same store of knowledge. It is necessary to introduce new developments into teaching methods. It is also necessary to enrich the contents of instruction. Otherwise we shall not achieve a breakthrough.

It is no accident that the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia devoted special attention to the operation of educational institutions, particularly higher school, in regard to communist education of the youth and the forming of a communist-type personality. And today, when large-scale problems relating to the perfecting of mature socialism are being solved, social scientists are faced with new complex tasks. Their responsibility grows and the role of the social sciences is enhanced.

During the past decade, significant measures were carried out in this direction. In the republic, a rather effective system is being formed in the field of the social sciences on the basis of a coordinated plan of scientific-research work. Certain steps have been taken in the field of solution of basic problems of concentration of Marxist-Leninist theory, ideology and educational work. But so far all this has not fully met the requirements made on researches in the field of the social sciences. Some scientists and instructors as before prefer a "peaceful" life, immersing themselves in a narrow circle of themes developed a long time ago with whose help they had at one time acquired an academic degree or are thinking of doing this in the future. Such an approach to the matter was assessed by the meeting's participants as a retreat from the serving of social interests.

It was found necessary to specifically bring up questions of the personal responsibility of heads of VUZ's, heads of pertinent departments and individual scientists who have been unable to overcome inertia and are not marching in step with the times. It has become necessary once more to revise scientific-research subject matter of higher educational institutions in the light of the decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in order to bring it into conformity with the requirements advanced by the times for researches in the field of social science. In particular, it is necessary to study and scientifically analyze actual reality with all its pluses and minuses without fearing criticism of defects, unmasking of negative phenomena still being observed and to work out recommendations for their eradication. Departments of social sciences can and must do a great deal more in this direction.

It is necessary to provide a sharp upsurge for both scientific and ideological educational, cultural and educational work of social-science departments, the speakers pointed out. It was declared that the most effective way was through greater coordination of work among different departments of VUZ's, which would

be bound to be reflected in scientific-research, educational and ideological-educational plans of the departments. The responsibility for this work should be divided among rectorates and party committees of the VUZ's as well as the pertinent services of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and their heads whose activity unfortunately has still not been felt.

Education of young students largely depends not only on what they are taught but also on how they are taught. And here arises the problem in all its fullness of translating the theoretical heritage of Marx and textbooks intended for student youth into the native language.

A great deal of attention at the meeting was devoted to improvement of the system of training pedagogic cadres and improving their qualifications, eliminating deficiencies in the teaching of the social sciences and ensuring that the teachers of these disciplines possessed not only the authority of science entrusted to them but also the clarity of their own ideological position and moral attractiveness of the personality. Serious defects should be eliminated in certification of pedagogic cadres of higher schools, their training and upgrading of qualifications.

It is all the more necessary to do this because in addition to wonderful pedagogs and educators there are unfortunately still many of those who read lectures from notes that are yellow with age and avoid critical, vitally important questions; they enjoy no authority among the students. They dull the vigilance of the youth and reduce their capacity to withstand the ideological onslaughts of the class enemy and opportunistic and revisionist attacks on real socialism. And this is at a time when social-science workers of VUZ's are assigning an honorable and important place to the solution of the task set by the CPSU Central Committee--the working out and operation of a well thought-out unified, dynamic and effective system of counterpropaganda.

Almost 10 years have passed since for the first time in the history of Soviet higher school a state system of control of communist education of student youth was created in our republic on the initiative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. It was firmly established in higher and secondary specialized schools and was widely recognized in the higher educational institutions of the Soviet Union and several other socialist countries. New forms and methods of educational work with the youth, an institute of curatorship [institut kuratorstva] and so on were introduced.

The work of each structural unit of the state system of control of the process of communist education and the introduction of new forms and methods of ideological-political, labor, military-patriotic, international, esthetic and moral education of the student youth rely on the comprehensive employment of the goal program method. It is aimed at the attainment of the basic aim of higher school--the forming of a communist world outlook in young people, increasing the social activity of future specialists, establishment of the principles of the socialist way of life in their consciousness and behavior and strengthening of socialist discipline. The comprehensive approach to communist education of student youth has been reflected in a goal program of communist education worked out by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education.

At Tbilisi State University and the Georgian Agricultural Institute, interesting experience was gained in how to include all the educational disciplines, even technical subjects, in a single system for the forming of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook in a student. However, the meeting's participants acknowledged that communist education of students still contains many defects and omissions and, what is most important, it is at times of an insufficiently effective, vigorous character and is utilized insufficiently competently and systematically.

In this connection the following example was cited. A sociological survey recently conducted in 18 VUZ's of the republic showed that in the opinion of each fourth student studies in the social disciplines fail to provide any new information. Practically every second student expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that lecturers shy away from a candid discussion of critical questions and from argued discussions. The study showed that seminars frequently take place in an uncreative atmosphere and do not contribute to the enrichment of the knowledge of students. They do not develop in them the ability to think independently and to work with the original sources of the classical writers of Marxism-Leninism. Half of the students indicated that they prepare for seminars with the use of a textbook, every fifth one--by means of lecture notes and a portion with other people's notes. A minority stated that in general they do not prepare for seminars on the social disciplines. As a result, a significant portion of young specialists does not have a deep and basic knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, which in the final analysis determine the level of training and active social-political activity and the ability to resist bourgeois ideological sabotage.

The survey showed that the lectures and seminars sometimes bear no relationship to concrete political and social-economic problems troubling young people. Each fifth student noted that he avoided raising critical questions of interest to him because the lecturers do not approve of them.

One of the most important elements of the educational process--the examination--is not always satisfactorily conducted. Instead of an objective evaluation of knowledge, here liberality and favoritism are frequently displayed. Every second instructor and every tenth student pointed to a lecturer's liberality in assessment of knowledge.

The study also showed that the professional qualifications structure of lecturers required further improvement. Of their total number, each third instructor of scientific communism and philosophy, each fourth lecturer on political economy and each fifth lecturer on the history of the CPSU had no academic degree. Doctors of sciences comprise only one-fourth of all the lecturers on scientific communism, one-seventh--on philosophy, one-eighth--on political economy and one-tenth on the history of the CPSU.

Communists are strong in the fact that they adopted everything that has been created by mankind over the course of its long history, everything advanced and progressive. The task is to make proper use of all this wealth. There is no sense in appearing before an audience if you yourself do not partake of this wealth.

But while making high demands on instructors, it is also necessary to create the proper conditions for them. The work with representatives of the social sciences is still not properly organized. The necessity has arisen for systematic meetings at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. Scientists should acquire their information from the primary source and be acquainted with all measures which the Central Committee wants carried out: to know what their purport is, what sectors will undergo development in the future, what benefits they will bring to our people, what concern is being shown for progress of our economy and the spiritual life of the people. It would appear to be useful for such meetings of personnel of university departments to also be held at party raykoms and gorkoms. Then representatives of the social sciences will have available to them all the arguments by which the party Central Committee and local party organs are guided in their work. It is all the more important because they are entrusted with a most responsible task--forming of a world outlook for our youth.

More attention should be given to bolstering the authority of VUZ scientists and instructors, including social scientists who are at a model level. Their positive experience has been studied poorly so far, but it must be sought, for this experience should be made common property even if it be in the form of granules.

At the same time, it should be emphasized again that the ideological education of the youth should not be solely a task for social-science instructors. In the matter of formation of its viewpoint, all university departments should find their place.

At the meeting, they spoke with alarm about young specialists who frequently do not find the consumerist attitude alien to them. They have the haziest of notions concerning professional and civic duty. Some of them indifferently take in the political situation and come under the influence of bourgeois propaganda. A portion of the youth is excessively interested in various surrogate arts, which have arisen from so-called "mass culture." Instances of law violations among students and cases of gross violation of educational discipline by them are still to be encountered. There can be no justification for the fact that rectorates and party committees of VUZ's and Komsomols themselves are ineffectively opposing law violations, while crime among students shows no sign of diminution.

It was stated outright at the meeting that we still have young people who do not understand the difficult problems of contemporaneity. At the same time, representatives of the older generation often help them poorly, shy away from difficult questions and sometimes are simply not prepared to answer them. Young people heed and behave with respect in regard to older people when their answers are well-reasoned, exhaustive and candid. It is the only way of speaking with young people. But some persons prefer to remain silent, basing themselves on the doubtful principle of avoidance of difficulties at any cost. Yet there are no questions to which a direct and honest answer cannot be made from party positions.

Today, art, and particularly literature, should be introduced into our ideological work. So far the achievements of cinematography, theatrical, musical and

the fine arts have not been used satisfactorily. Yet when the film "Raykom Secretary" was made, it was recognized as a major ideological victory. No lecture, no seminar could have done what this film did. Art is one of the most effective means of ideological influence.

When the decision was being made to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the affiliation of Georgia with Russia, the first to be invited were prominent cultural workers, particularly cinematographers. They were asked to make a truthful film with a historical theme, a film, that when seen by a young person, would convince him what a correct and only true decision had been by our forebears. The 5-series [pyatiseriynny] film "Klyatvennaya zapis'" [A Solemn Entry] was produced by G. Lordkipanidze with great love, a high sense of responsibility and at the price of great and strenuous labor. It is truly an effective ideological work and an ideological support for our goals and aspirations.

Why was it necessary to make such a historical film? By no means least was the reason that far from everybody knows the true history of his people, When you see the film, you are once more convinced how many woes our much-suffering country avoided and what gigantic forces are to be found in our people.

Effectiveness of education is largely determined by how completely there are taken into consideration the special developmental features of modern youth, their spiritual needs, the constantly increasing flow of information and the ability to orient oneself correctly in it. The meeting, fully adhering to principles, required of each head of a VUZ, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and its pertinent services to introduce on a wide scale new forms and methods of ideological and political work and to see to it that an absolute majority of the teaching staff actively participates in it and that each department becomes a real center of educational and scientific-research work, communist education and an effective part in the unified system of educating future specialists.

Here a decisive role is bound to be played by the struggle for stronger discipline and the firm establishment of that elevated approach under the conditions of higher school which is characteristic of the entire republic at the present stage. The efforts of every collective of instructors and students should be aimed at the attainment of intensive forms of instruction, the experience of pacemakers and improvement of the teaching process against a background of improved quality of specialist training. So far the indicators of academic progress in the day division have dropped to 80 percent and in the evening division to 73 percent. These figures are markedly lower than those of average union indicators. Everything is not going well with student dropouts. The number of students studying at the passing level [na troyki] is great. The number of non-attendances of lectures and seminars for not acceptable reasons is not being reduced. Moreover, studies sometimes are interrupted through the fault of instructors, and it cannot be said that in this connection the position of rectorates and party committees is irreconcilable.

Persons speaking at the meeting stated that much must be done in regard to assignment of young specialists, their appearance at place of work and retention. These questions are tied in to the struggle for discipline and order.



Among the initiators of the campaign for strengthening of discipline in the republic together with the collective of the Aviation Plant imeni Dimitrov and the kolkhoz farmers of Tkviavi Village were the students of Tbilisi University. This confirmed once again the important role that is played by higher school in the republic's social and political life and how important and significant for the republic's VUZ's is the question of strengthening of discipline and the problem of educating youth in the spirit of socialist order. The struggle for discipline, it was emphasized at the meeting, must become the object of daily concern by the rectorate, party, trade-union and omsomol organizations, dean's offices, departments and laboratories.

Work having as its objective the international and patriotic education of the young generation is of special importance. The 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia has set the task of constantly looking out for such forms and methods of this work which would make it possible to comprehensively take into account social-economic, social-cultural and specifically national historically formed spiritual interests of all nations and nationalities and at the same time to contribute to their drawing closer on the basis of the principle of unity of economics, Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist way of life. The republic's higher school possesses all the conditions for this, while the general attitude of our student body and its international character create a most favorable soil for this. Graphic evidence of the ideological-political, labor and moral education of our students may be found in the fact that more than 16,000 students, 3,190 of whom were sent outside the confines of our republic, fulfilled work above plan in the amount of 11 million rubles during the present labor semester. This is a manifestation of the spirit of internationalism and of a conscientious attitude toward labor and general interests.

International education is education of our youth in the spirit of love of man and respect for all peoples and all nationalities. Our national policy makes it possible for the party to educate youth who firmly believe in tomorrow. And should there arise difficulties and defects in international education, it would mean that party, soviet, trade-union, Komsomol and operational personnel, who are bound to conduct educational work among the masses, are not up to the mark. Comrades speaking at the meeting referred to the large amount of work done in the republic in connection with the complex program for improving instruction and study of the Russian language spelled out by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers in 1974 and to new tasks along this line.

It was pointed out that the Georgian language has been and continues to be a subject of everyday concern by the Communist Party of Georgia and the republic government. It is necessary to ensure that it fulfills all its functions, including the state function. It is necessary with a feeling of the same high responsibility to manifest concern for the development of the Abkhaz, Osetian, Armenian and Azerbaijani languages and the languages of all nationalities living in Georgia. Policy in regard to Georgian, Russian, Abkhaz, Osetian and all other languages must be absolutely the same and absolutely sincere.

Only a few days ago the new school year began. In the importance and complexity of its tasks, it differs noticeably from preceding years. Its import

is established by several very important events--the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, the adoption of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU "On Intensifying Work on Strengthening Socialist Labor Discipline" and the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Georgian Treaty.

Each of these events taking either separately or together places a tremendous responsibility on the personnel of higher school before the party and the Motherland to see to it that at the level of contemporary requirements ideological conditioning of every instructor and student is conducted and that highly qualified specialists are trained for all sectors of the economy, science and culture. The objective is to have a level of occupational and ideological-political maturity attained by young specialists with which they could successfully solve the most complex tasks set by scientific-technical and social progress.

All this can only be achieved under conditions of a high level of organization and firm discipline which should be provided for from the beginning of the school year. Discipline and organization are not exceptional tasks but a requirement of the day, a universal requirement. Its undeviating fulfillment is the most accurate measure of all the present and future work of our higher school.

Meetings with heads of VUZ's and representatives of their party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations at the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia are held regularly. But a meeting involving such a broad, representative composition at which the results of the work of higher school in recent years are comprehensively being examined with the participation of members of the Central Committee's bureau is one that is actually being conducted for the first time. This serves to emphasize the responsibility of the tasks facing higher school in the light of the historical decisions of the June (1983) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the positions and conclusions set forth in the speech at the Plenum by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Yu.V. Andropov and the materials of the report of member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade K.U. Chernenko.

The June Plenum of the Central Committee of our party, its decisions and the directives of the Central Committee's leadership undoubtedly constitute a new stage in the life of our Leninist party, Soviet society and, of course, in the life of the country's higher school.

What basic conclusions have to be made at this time? One of the chief ones is that it is necessary to approach the problems now facing higher school in such a way as to provide for their practical solution and practical realization and to boost the prestige of higher school and its role in the overall national-economic complex and in the forming of the communist world outlook of our people, especially the youth. These are practical questions.

Comrade Yu.V. Andropov has stated that it is first necessary to bring order to what is at our disposal and to utilize that which we possess, then we will have the basis for moving forward and for bolder drawing up of new plans and working out of new tasks.

In our republic a sound system has been created for tallying the results of a check up of the realization of our plans and decisions. Each month the bureau of the Central Committee together with the republic's government discusses the state of affairs in all sectors of the economy. Such a system is also being gradually established in other spheres of our life. Good experience in this regard has been acquired by workers of public education. Each year at August conferences, they sum up the results of their work and outline tasks for the future.

This year's meeting should initiate future regular meetings of higher-school personnel. Discussion at them should be substantive, specific and interesting and the approach to problems of concern to us--deep and differentiated. It is necessary to find a form of work where each question that has been raised will inevitably be followed by a specific and well-reasoned decision that will subsequently not remain on paper. In addition, problems should also be considered in a "narrow" range: according to sectors and specialists, and the work of individual departments and faculties to undergo deep analysis.

It would seem to be practicable for the bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, on representation of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of the republic, to establish a procedure for the annual summing up of the results of higher-school work. The businesslike character of these meetings must without fail be sensed by every department, every professor, docent, lecturer and instructor.

It was pointed out that it would be impossible to encompass in one meeting, regardless of how impressive it might be, all the questions pertaining to the work of higher educational institutions. Many of them were treated in greater detail at the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia. It would therefore be necessary to again return to the materials of this plenum which, with the participation of the broad public, took 3 years to prepare. Practice has shown that the basic tendencies inherent in the decisions of the 6th plenum respond correctly to the present stage of society's development and are along the line of the requirements of the recently adopted decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on speeding up scientific-technical progress in the national economy.

In the Georgian SSR, a system has been developed of supervision of scientific development and acceleration of scientific-technical progress. A Coordinating Council for Science and Scientific-Technical Progress is in operation, headed by the first secretary of the Central Committee. This council has sections headed by members of the bureau of the Central Committee. The council's work results from the fact that science is being increasingly transformed into a direct product force. And the further we proceed along this direction, the more will science influence the development of the national economy and the higher will our intellectual potential be. And this is the chief wealth of socialist society, and we should strive to use it for its proper purpose.

It was emphasized at the meeting: why is the question of ideological work and the formation of ideological convictions in the youth so acute today? Our country is powerful with a vigorous economy and an advanced, revolutionary ideology. But the present international situation has become extremely exacerbated. Our people have already been through a horrible war. But the next war, should it be unleashed, will be many times more horrible. The Soviet Union is introducing many peace initiatives. Not a single day passes without the leadership of the party's Central Committee and its Politburo thinking about questions of war and peace, without advancing proposals capable of obliging imperialism to make certain contacts and some sort of compromises.

At the same time, each one should clearly understand: the reactionary aggressive policy of the U.S. administration is not an accidental occurrence. With the passage of time, the machine called the military-industrial complex has been exerting an increasingly greater influence on American policy. It functions, operates and creates billions of dollars of profit for the elite. Such is its logic. Consequently the struggle for peace with special pointedness is on the agenda. That is why we are facing today problems of ideological work and ideological struggle in all their acuteness. We want peace, but today not everything depends on us. We cannot exclude from the future further aggravation of the international situation. For this reason each of us, especially young people, must be morally and physically ready for this. And we declare with pride: our youth, should the need arise, are ready to perform deeds in the name of defense of the Motherland.

While candidly acknowledging that many defects, mistakes and oversights are still to be found in our work, we also speak of achievements of which we are proud, which are properly appreciated by the CPSU Central Committee, the Politburo and Comrade Yu.V. Andropov personally. These achievements include a worthy contribution by our higher school, our students and our professors and instructors. Success cannot be achieved either in industry, or in construction, or in agriculture, or in the other sectors of the economy without the active participation of our youth and our intelligentsia.

Their services are great in improving the moral and psychological climate in the republic--both in the early, very difficult years of struggle for the restoration of Leninist principles and norms in party and social-political life and subsequently when there also were many difficulties.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia has expressed its gratitude to the republic's intelligentsia, including the personnel of higher school for their constant active support and assistance.

It was stated in the conclusion: it is deeply symbolical that we today we are unveiling a monument to Academician Muskhelishvili. It is no accident that these two memorable events coincide with each other. There, at the monument to an outstanding scientist, we shall give our word to grow for Georgia such patriots, such internationalists and such highly erudite scientists and specialists as Nikolay Ivanovich Muskhelishvili himself was.

The meeting of the aktiv of the republic's higher-school personnel, which took place on a high ideological-political and organizational level and in an atmosphere of Bolshevik adherence to principle, exceptional frankness and deep interest in the solution of the problems discussed, assured the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia that higher school personnel and the students of the republic, in response to the tremendous concern of the party and the government, will do everything possible to vindicate the great hopes placed in them.

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## REGIONAL

### LITHUANIA'S GRISHKYAVICHUS, DYBENKO VIEW SOCIALIST DISCIPLINE

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 12 Nov 83 pp 1-2

[Report on speeches of First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania P. P. Grishkyavichus and Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania N. K. Dybenko at a conference of first secretaries of the city and rayon committees of the Communist Party of Lithuania in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania (EL'TA): "For the Further Tightening Up of Socialist Discipline, the Improvement of Party Work"]

[Text] A conference of first secretaries of the city and rayon committees of the Communist Party of Lithuania was held in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. Members and candidate members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania took part in the conference.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania Comrade P. P. Grishkyavichus delivered a report on the question of the organized completion of the fiscal year and the further tightening up of socialist discipline.

The CPSU Central Committee and Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, Comrade P. Grishkyavichus said, are constantly directing the attention of the local party organs to the need to intensify the work on the further tightening up of state, planning and labor discipline, good organization and order in production, in our entire life.

The main task now is to ensure the fulfillment of the plan of the current year and to achieve the levels of 3 years of the five-year plan. In the country as a whole the growth rate of the national income, industrial production, the development of agriculture and several other sectors of the national economy has picked up speed. Positive changes in the further increase of the well-being of the people have been inferred on this basis. All this is a result first of all of the work done on the tightening up of discipline and organization.

At the same time in the national economy there are still many shortcomings and bottlenecks. A portion of the collectives, as before, are not coping with the plans, especially with allowance made for deliveries of products in accordance

with contracts. The proper changes in the direction of the decrease of the materials-output ratio of products still do not exist, a strict policy of economy in the consumption of fuel and energy resources, raw materials and materials, first of all such ones as petroleum, coal, metals, lumber and others, is not being ensured everywhere. The increase of wages is being properly compared with the increase of labor productivity in far from all production collectives, which is hindering the quickest possible surmounting of the discrepancy between the purchasing power of the population and the marketable mass of consumer items, which is being produced. In recent times the work of construction organizations has worsened.

In face of such a situation the task of further increasing the demand on personnel and the persistent tightening up of discipline, organization and order in production and in public life is arising. There are signs that some workers are already looking forward to when the drive for discipline will subside and the demand will decrease. The fact that the animation of work and the improvement of affairs among a portion of the personnel have caused a relaxation of the attention to the further improvement of production and the tightening up of organization and discipline, in short, some people are content with what has been achieved, is also showing. In response to such sentiments it is necessary to make all personnel aware that the drive for discipline, great demandingness, good organization and order is still just beginning, that there can be no leniency here.

There are still many violations of labor discipline, many disruptions in the work of enterprises. Comrade Yu. V. Andropov is directing the attention of local party organs to the need to step up the work on the fulfilment of the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions on the tightening up of socialist labor discipline and the implementation of the USSR Law on Labor Collectives.

The work done on the tightening up of discipline has yielded its positive results. The losses of working time are decreasing. During the first half of the year alone as compared with the same period last year the losses of working time per worker have decreased in industry of the republic by 1.3-fold, in construction--nearly twofold. This trend is also being observed in other sectors of the national economy.

The party committees and primary party organizations have stepped up the work in this direction. The state of and measures on the tightening up of state and labor discipline and the questions of the improvement of the organization of labor and production and the intensification of the drive against mismanagement have begun to be discussed more often, more to the point and on principle at the plenums of the city and rayon party committees, meetings of the party aktiv, sittings of the bureaus and party meetings. These questions have been raised pointedly at the majority of the party meetings which were held to hear reports and elect new officials.

As a result of the work being performed the growth rate of production has picked up speed and the indicators of its efficiency have improved in all the basic sectors of the national economy of the republic. As a whole we are completing the third year of the five-year plan successfully. The workers of

industry fulfilled the plan of 10 months ahead of time, on 27 October. And in all during this period as compared with last year the volume of commodity production increased by 4.6 percent. Products worth nearly 157 million rubles were sold in excess of the plan. In all 89 percent of the total increase of production was obtained by the increase of labor productivity. This year one enterprise in three is working and fulfilling the plans without an increase of the number of workers.

The main contracting construction organizations increased this year the amounts of performed construction and installation work. The plan of 10 months on this indicator was fulfilled, 98 percent of the limit of state capital investments was assimilated. The annual plan of the placement of general educational schools and vocational and technical schools into operation was fulfilled.

Appreciable positive changes have been ensured in agriculture. The republic has fulfilled the plans on state purchases of all types of products of plant growing. The annual plan on the sale of milk to the state was fulfilled ahead of time, before 1 November. There is no doubt that the annual assignment on the purchases of livestock and poultry will also be fulfilled. At the same time a quite good basis has been created for successful work during the new, fourth year of the five-year plan: the planting of winter crops was carried out on time and for the most part well, all the fall-plowed land has been plowed up, the seeds have been covered, the necessary population of livestock and poultry is being preserved, the fodder reserves are more abundant and better.

As a result it is anticipated that the national income in the republic will increase during 3 years of the five-year plan by approximately 19 percent as against 10 percent according to the five-year plan, and 87 percent of the increase will be obtained by the increase of the productivity of national labor. The volume of production of industrial products during this period will increase by approximately 13 percent instead of the planned 11 percent, while labor productivity in industry will increase by 10.5 percent as against 8.2 percent according to the five-year plan.

In agriculture with respect to state purchases of all types of products, with the exception of livestock and poultry, we will also achieve the level of 3 years of the five-year plan. But in the production of the gross output of agriculture and individual types of it, although we have achieved an increase of the growth rate, they still lag behind the rate planned for this period.

In assessing what has been done, today, unfortunately, we cannot say that all the available internal reserves and possibilities have already been completely utilized. And first of all we have not yet seen to it that the drive for the proper order and discipline has become everywhere truly realistic and effective. The state of affairs locally attests that in the implementation of the outlined measures unjustified slowness is being permitted, the proper specificity, urgency and adherence to principle do not exist in this section of the work. Here and there the drive for discipline, as before, reduces to the administrative checking of the presence of each person at his workplace "from and to."



The reason that in 10 months 10 industrial enterprises again did not fulfill the plans of the sale of products, first of all lies precisely in this. Among them, as before, are the Klaypeda Sirius Plant of Dry Cells, as well as the plants: the Panevezhis Motor Vehicle Repair Plant, the Vilnius Machine Tool Building Plant imeni 40-letiya Oktyabrya, the Telshyay Adding Machine Plant, the Ionava Furniture Combine and others. Nine enterprises did not cope with the plans on the increase of labor productivity.

A portion of the enterprises are continuing to produce not what the consumers need and what they are obliged to deliver in accordance with contracts and orders. Moreover, the fact that the number of such collectives during October increased and comes to 70, or nearly 18 percent of all the enterprises of industry of the republic, is causing anxiety. Nearly half of the enterprises of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, a third of the collectives of the Ministry of Local Industry, the Litrybprom and Litbumprom Associations and the Mazheykyay Petroleum Refinery did not cope with the deliveries in accordance with contracts.

The reasons for the emergence of bottlenecks in production are different. Both the shortcomings of material and technical supply, which, incidentally, in part also occur as a result of the nonfulfillment of contractual obligations, and other shortcomings tell here. But it is especially necessary to direct attention to the fact that many economic managers are not taking resolute steps on the creation of the necessary conditions for productive labor.

And, indeed, some managers even in case of normal material and technical supply are undertaking hardly anything or nothing at all on the establishment of the proper order at the works and on its improvement. The creative thought of specialists, the experience of leading workers and the suggestions of rationalizers are being ignored, at times they are not even worried about the supply of people with the simplest work tools. There are still many such facts, and they require a more principled approach and appraisal on the part of party organizations, city and rayon party committees, ministries and departments. This question is being posed as follows: the reports of the managers of each enterprise, which did not fulfill the plans on production and labor productivity, should be examined in accordance with the result for 10 months, having especially concentrated attention on the causes of the nonfulfillment of deliveries in accordance with contracts. Here a worthily strict and principled appraisal should be given to the work of such managers.

It is necessary to direct special attention to the further tightening up of the policy of economy and thrift. The situation here is improving. As the analysis of the results for 9 months shows, the material expenditures per ruble of the national product this year decreased and come to 61.2 kopecks as against 64.1 kopecks in accordance with the plan. But we have even greater possibilities for the more economical consumption of resources, raw materials and materials. The efforts must be stepped up, checks must be made more often and strictly, spot checks must be organized, this work must be performed constantly.

The party organizations are not properly enlisting labor collectives in the drive for the tightening up of discipline. For the present the rights granted

by the Law on Labor Collectives, measures of the stimulation of workers and measures of influence on violators of labor discipline are not being used adequately. What can be said about the role of the collective, when, for example, at many construction (and not only construction) organizations many absentees and other violators, as before, are being dismissed without discussion at the workers' meetings and the Comrade Courts, without the use of other measures of educational influence?

By the end of the year the construction workers also have to do very intense work, especially at the most important start-up projects. Meanwhile, whereas at the construction site of the second section of the Mazheykyay Petroleum Refinery the plan of 10 months on the amount of construction and installation work was exceeded by 14 percent, at the Vilnius Heat and Electric Power Station No 3 it remained slightly underfulfilled. A tight situation is also forming with the placement of housing into operation, especially in rural areas. Here all the main construction ministries and departments fell significantly short in the fulfillment of the plan of 10 months. The rayon party committees and rayon soviet executive committees should set up daily control over the construction of these and other start-up projects and should achieve their timely placement into operation.

The existing cases of the concealment of violations of labor discipline, idle times, unauthorized absences and the embellishment of the state of affairs deserve the most categorical condemnation. Here, for example, at the Litbytkhim Production Association the instances of drunkenness even at the workplaces are continuing, but they are being covered up, are not receiving the proper appraisal and are not being stopped. It is not ruled out that similar phenomena are also occurring in other collectives. They should be stopped by the most rigorous steps, the public must be inspired against them. Unfortunately, administrative and financial organs have not properly determined their place in this work. In their arsenal there are quite effective means of combatting this evil, and the party committees should require their most active use.

In the matter of the implementation of the decisions of the party and government on the tightening up of socialist labor discipline and the provisions of the Law on Labor Collectives an important role belongs to the trade unions. A number of measures on the increase of the role of collectives in the tightening up of labor discipline have been implemented by them. But what has been done, is far from sufficient. In these matters the trade union organizations are called upon to take a more active and principled, aggressive stand. The trade union organs of the republic need to turn more resolutely toward the intensification of educational work in the labor collectives and the increase of the demandingness for the state of labor discipline and to display greater adherence to principles and pointedness in the exercise of their rights and duties in combatting these negative phenomena.

Not everything has yet been done by soviet and trade union organs in the matter of regulating the work of enterprises of personal service, municipal services, transportation and trade in order not to divert people from work. Other cases of the unjustified tearing of workers away from production also continue to occur. There are still many meetings and conferences of various kinds, to which the managers and specialists of enterprises and services and other workers are being diverted at times unnecessarily.

The sectors of the national economy, which are engaged in serving the population, for the most part have rearranged the schedule of their operation. But it is possible and necessary to improve it further. In particular, it is necessary to increase the number of trade and personal service enterprises which operate on Sundays.

The republic fell short in the fulfillment of the plan of the retail commodity turnover for 10 months by more than 58 million rubles. The objective reasons for the nonfulfillment are well known. However, the very organization of trade and commercial work leave much to be desired. Consumers do not always have the opportunity to purchase basic necessities, although there are enough of them in the warehouses. Other possibilities of increasing the commodity turnover: the organization of trade fairs and sales exhibits, the expansion of trade in the streets and at the places of the mass visiting and relaxation of the working people, should also be used more extensively.

In agriculture we are also coming across cases of the violation of planning discipline. We still have farms which are not fulfilling the plans of the sale of products to the state. At them production and labor discipline is being violated, the proper order does not exist in the fields and at the farms, the agrotechnical and zootechnic requirements are not being observed.

Today I would like to dwell in greater detail on the most topical task--the organized wintering of livestock. It is clear that the conditions for the wintering of livestock this year in our republic are better than last year and during a number of preceding years. But precisely this, apparently, is creating reassurance among some managers, and they are letting matters take their own course. Facts, which attest to direct mismanagement, are occurring against the background of an overall favorable picture. For example, in early November material of the editorial board and workers of the republic People's Control Committee on the situation at the farms of the Kolkhoz imeni Chernyakhovskiy of Kayshyadorskiy Rayon was published in the newspaper TIYESA. At the farm 28 percent of the piglets and 12 percent of the calves have died since the beginning of the year. But the managers of the farm did not learn the proper lessons from this for themselves: they had not prepared for the wintering of livestock, there is disorder at the farms, the working conditions of the workers are nowhere worse.

There is a similar situation at the Pernarava Kolkhoz of Kedaynskiy Rayon, the Yaunoyi gvardiya Kolkhoz of Pakruoyskiy Rayon, the Dabikine Sovkhoz of Akmyanskiy Rayon, the Dukshtas Sovkhoz of Ignalinskiy Rayon, the Kal'vyay Sovkhoz of Kayshyadorskiy Rayon and several other farms.

It is a good thing, of course, that the press and the People's Control are not passing over such facts. But why are the rayon administrations of agriculture not noticing them and will they not make the managers and specialists of these farms responsible? Why do the rayon party committees put up with them? The wintering of livestock is just beginning, and it is still not too late to eliminate the remaining unfinished work. It is necessary to do this immediately.

The success of the wintering of livestock and their productivity are determined first of all by the efficient use of fodders and their good preparation for feeding. The fodder mixing shops, about 200 of which have already been built, are justifying themselves. But it is in no way possible to justify the cases when these shops at some farms so far are not being used. Wherever they still do not exist, temporary areas must be used for the preparation of fodder mixes. In short, it is necessary to keep the questions of the use of fodders under strict control. This is the main condition of the high productivity of all types of livestock.

Meanwhile, according to the data for 9 months, at 126 farms the milk yield on the average per cow was less than during the same period last year. In Zarasayskiy Rayon there are 11 such farms, that is, more than half, in Alituskiy and Moletskiy Rayons--7 each. At the farms of Zarasayskiy, Pakruoyskiy, Ukmergskiy and Moletskiy Rayons the daily milk yield today also lags behind the yield of last year.

As a whole the weight gains of livestock and hogs in fattening have increased. However, during the third quarter the daily weight gains of large-horned cattle at the farms of Shirvintskiy, Shalchininkskiy, Raseynskiy, Moletskiy and Pakruoyskiy Rayons and the daily weight gains of hogs in Akmyanskiy, Kedaynskiy, Shyaulyayskiy and Shalchininkskiy Rayons were less than last year.

Intensive feeding and the assurance of high daily weight gains in fattening are an immediate means to high weight conditions of livestock and hogs. The situation here is improving. But cases of a wasteful attitude are also occurring. Of course, a certain portion of the young animals due to the state of health develop poorly, and in such a case it is inadvisable to waste fodders. But by what is one to explain and justify such cases when, for example, in late October 32 young long-horned cattle, which were only a few kilograms short of the weight, for which a 50-percent price markup is credited, were sent from the Deguchyay Sovkhoz of Shilutskiy Rayon to the meat combine? And this is not the only case.

In short, the wintering of livestock is now the main issue in the countryside, and every day it should be at the center of the closest and most demanding attention. The progress of wintering must be checked constantly at every farm and at every livestock farm, the encountered shortcomings must be eliminated promptly.

While showing concern about the successful completion of this year, it is now already necessary also to think about the plans for 1984. We should see to it that every labor collective would draft a stepped-up, but practicable plan, which takes into account all the available reserves and possibilities and is aimed at the fulfillment and exceeding of the assignments of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov emphasizes that the drive for discipline and good organization is not a short-term campaign. We need discipline not for the sake of discipline. It should promote the improvement of the style of work and all our business and become a mighty means of the fulfillment of the plans and the increase of labor productivity and production efficiency. And in order to

achieve this, we must thoroughly intensify organizing work on the fulfillment of the decisions of the party and government on the questions of the tightening up of socialist labor discipline and the requirements of the Law on Labor Collectives. Their fulfillment locally must be carried out systematically, effective steps must be taken.

Great specificity, pointedness and aggressiveness are required of all educational work and the means of mass information and propaganda. Particular attention must be directed to the fact that these questions would find reflection at forthcoming party conferences.

Today the drive for discipline, order and good organization is the cornerstone, on which personnel, their responsibility for the implementation of party policy and the ability to organize the execution of its directives are checked.

The party organizations and their elective organs should study daily and in a practical manner the questions of the tightening up of labor, production and public discipline, should increase the responsibility of the economic managers of all links and should display greater demandingness on them. In this, Comrade P. Grishkyavichus said in conclusion, lies the main condition of the successful implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress, the plans of the economic and social development and the strengthening of the might of our state.

Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania Comrade N. K. Dybenko gave a report on the results of the reports and elections in the primary party organizations of the republic.

The meetings, which were held in all the primary organizations of the Communist Party of Lithuania to hear reports and elect new executives, have concluded, the speaker stressed. More than 180,000 communists participated in them. The meetings were, in essence, an operational review of the party forces of the republic and of their activity on the implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress, the May and November (1982) and June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenums. In all 5,618 primary party organizations, 3,704 shop party organizations and 5,271 party groups thoroughly analyzed their work and specified the tasks for the future.

Guided by the decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the conducting of the reports and elections, the city and rayon party committees took care so that everywhere the party meetings would take place in a businesslike manner, in an atmosphere of the unity and great activeness of communists.

The great amount of preliminary work and the daily and specific supervision of the reports and elections on the part of the party committees in many ways were conducive to this. About 97 percent of all the registered members and candidate members of the party took part in all the meetings which were held. In all more than 130,000 communists spoke during the discussion of the accountability reports. More than 50,000 critical remarks and suggestions, which are aimed at the improvement of the activity of party organizations and their elective organs and of labor collectives and at the elimination of the existing shortcomings in production life and educational work, were expressed

by them. The specificity of the remarks and suggestions increased, which made it possible to implement more than three-fourths of them already during the reports and elections. The fact that secretaries, members and candidate members of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, responsible officials of the staff of the party committees and managerial personnel of the ministries and departments of the republic took part in the work of nearly 11,000 meetings, also promoted the increase of the practical nature of the party meetings.

The domestic and foreign policy of the party, the tireless and consistent practical activity of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee on the preservation and strengthening of peace and the strengthening of the economic and defensive might of the country received the unanimous approval of the meetings.

Expressing the feeling and sentiments of the working people of the republic, the communists utterly and completely supported the Statement of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Comrade Yu. V. Andropov and his responses to the questions of a correspondent of the newspaper PRAVDA on the curbing of the nuclear arms race and their reduction.

The communists analyzed thoroughly and self-critically the results of the work done on the fulfillment of the assignments of the five-year plan in industry, capital construction, transportation, agriculture, the service sphere and each labor collective. And it must be said that in various sections of economic and cultural construction we were able to achieve appreciable results.

At the same time the basic attention of the participants in the meetings was focused on eliminating more rapidly the bottlenecks, tightening up labor, planning, production, technological and financial discipline, mobilizing the working people for the overcoming of the lag, which was allowed in individual sections, and ensuring the fulfillment and exceeding of the assignments of 3 years of the five-year plan and the further increase of production efficiency and labor productivity.

At the party meetings proper attention was devoted to the further stepping up of the activity of the primary party organizations and to the questions of party organizational work.

During the period since the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania the republic party organization has grown by 14,800 communists. During this time 20,000 people were admitted as candidates of the party, or 1,214 more than during the corresponding period of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The fact that the rayon party committees are increasing the growth of the ranks of the party by means of representatives of the leading occupations, is favorable.

The selection and admission to the ranks of the CPSU of stock breeders and machine operators of kolkhozes and sovkhoses increased noticeably. Thus, during the period since the party congress the admission of stock breeders increased by nearly twofold, while that of machine operators increased by 63 percent as compared with the corresponding period of the 10th Five-Year Plan. The

party stratum among stock breeders of the republic during this time increased from 6.3 to 6.9 percent, while among machine operators it increased from 13.2 to 13.7 percent.

This year among those admitted as candidates of the party workers and kolkhoz farmers make up 70 percent. The task of the party committees is not to decrease the achieved results.

In the past 3 years the structure of the republic party organizations has changed appreciably. The number of primary party organizations increased by 292, shop party organizations--by 383, party groups--by 832. The structure of the party organizations of Vilnius, Klaypeda, Ionavskiy, Utenskiy and several other rayons especially improved.

As a result of the reporting and election campaign the further improvement of the qualitative composition of the elected aktiv of the primary party organizations and the local party units was ensured. In the membership of the party committees and party bureaus of the primary shop party organizations the number of workers, engineering and technical personnel and women increased, there were more communists with a higher education.

The composition of the secretaries of the primary party organizations became stronger. In it the proportion of workers and kolkhoz farmers increased and now comes to 18 percent, women--47.7 percent, with higher training--70 percent. Such changes are also typical of the newly elected body of secretaries of the shop party organizations and party group organizers. More specialists of the national economy were elected to the leadership of all the units of the party organizations. When forming the elected party aktiv the national composition of the party organizations was also taken more thoroughly into account.

At the same time it should be noted that oversights and shortcomings occurred in the conducting of the reports and elections. In a number of rayons: Tra-kayskiy, Ionavskiy and Radvilishkskiy, and in Klaypeda the presence at the meetings held to hear reports and elect new executives and the activeness of communists at them were noticeably less than on the average for the republic.

At some meetings the accountability reports were of an unsystematic, superficial nature, without a thorough analysis of the activity of the party organizations and their elective organs on the supervision of the economic and social life of the collectives. The communists were not everywhere thoroughly informed about the state of the monitoring of the fulfillment of previously made decisions, the implementation of the critical remarks and suggestions, which were expressed at the last meetings held to hear reports and elect new executives, as a result of which constructive criticism was frequently absent in the statements at the present meetings.

Complacency with the achieved production results and the aspiration to isolate party organizational, ideological and political work from the accomplishment of economic tasks were observed here and there.

In our opinion, at many meetings held to hear reports and elect new executives unjustifiably little attention was devoted to the analysis of the work of local

party units, this was spoken about casually, without the revelation of the gained experience or in general was glossed over. Proper concern about the assurance of the high attendance of communists was not displayed in a number of party organizations. A portion of the communists were absent from some party meetings held to hear reports and elect new executives without valid reasons for this.

At some party meetings the work on the improvement of ideological educational activity in light of the demands of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum was poorly revealed, attention was inadequately concentrated on the need for its more fundamental combination with the solution of economic and socioeconomic problems.

The fact that in a number of party organizations the secretaries, party bureaus, party committees and, consequently, the representatives of superior party organizations did not ensure the high quality preparation of the drafts of decrees of the meetings held to hear reports and elect new executives and that many of them lack purposefulness and specificity and the specification of the means of accomplishing the posed tasks, must also be regarded as a serious oversight.

The city and rayon party committees need to analyze thoroughly and comprehensively and to generalize the results of the meetings held to hear reports and elect new executives in the party groups, the shop and primary party organizations, to elaborate and implement practical measures which are aimed at the further increase of the energeticness of all party units. All the practical critical remarks and suggestions, which were expressed by communists, must be treated especially attentively.

A new important stage of the reporting and election campaign is ahead. The first rayon party conferences are being held on 26 November.

The thorough analysis of the results of the meetings held in the primary party organizations to hear reports and elect new executives should contribute to the better preparation and more effective conducting of the party conferences.

The questions connected with the analysis of the level of the political guidance by party committees of the economic and social development of cities and rayons, ideological activity and party organizational work should be the subject of a comprehensive examination at the forthcoming conferences.

It is necessary to focus particular attention on the problems of the further improvement of the style and methods of work of the party committees, the decrease of unnecessary conferences and meetings and paper work, the concentration of organizing activity directly in the local party units and labor collectives. The practice of the selection, placement and education of personnel and the organization of the supervision and checking of the fulfillment of the decrees of the party and government and one's own decisions need a principled analysis.

The accountability report of the party committee is of great importance for the high quality conducting of the conferences. It is what provides the basic



mood and consistency of aim of the work of the party conference. Therefore, the attention to its preparation should be most serious. The main thing here is not the listing of the implemented measures and meetings, but the practical results on the implementation of the decisions of the 26th party congress and the subsequent decrees of the CPSU Central Committee Plenums. In this case it is necessary to reveal the causes of the shortcomings, to establish through whose fault they are occurring, to demand of specific persons the improvement of the state of affairs. It is important to analyze on the basis of principle and exactly the questions of the tightening up of party, state and labor discipline, law and order, the increase of the responsibility of workers for the observance of statewide interests.

It is necessary to approach with particular responsibility the formation of the city and rayon party committees. Politically mature, competent, trustworthy and resourceful communists, who have organizing abilities and high moral qualities, should be nominated as members of them.

After the holding of the conference the new body of the party committees will need to elaborate measures on the implementation of the adopted decisions, the expressed critical remarks and suggestions.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania proposes to begin already at the start of next year the training of the newly elected party aktiv. This must be done by the city and rayon party committees, first of all with the secretaries of the primary party organizations.

Permit me to express confidence that the city and rayon party committees and their first secretaries personally will do everything so that the party conferences everywhere would take place at a high political and organizational level, and will contribute to the further increase of the energeticness of all the units of the Communist Party of Lithuania in the accomplishment of the socioeconomic tasks facing the republic.

First Secretary of the Vilnius City Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania V. Sakalauskas; First Secretary of the Kedayskiy Rayon Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania V. Povilauskas; First Secretary of the Leninskiy Rayon Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania of Kaunas P. Stashkunas; First Secretary of the Prenayskiy Rayon Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania I. Mintauchkis; First Secretary of the Mazheykskiy Rayon Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania S. Gedraytis spoke during the discussion of the reports.

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